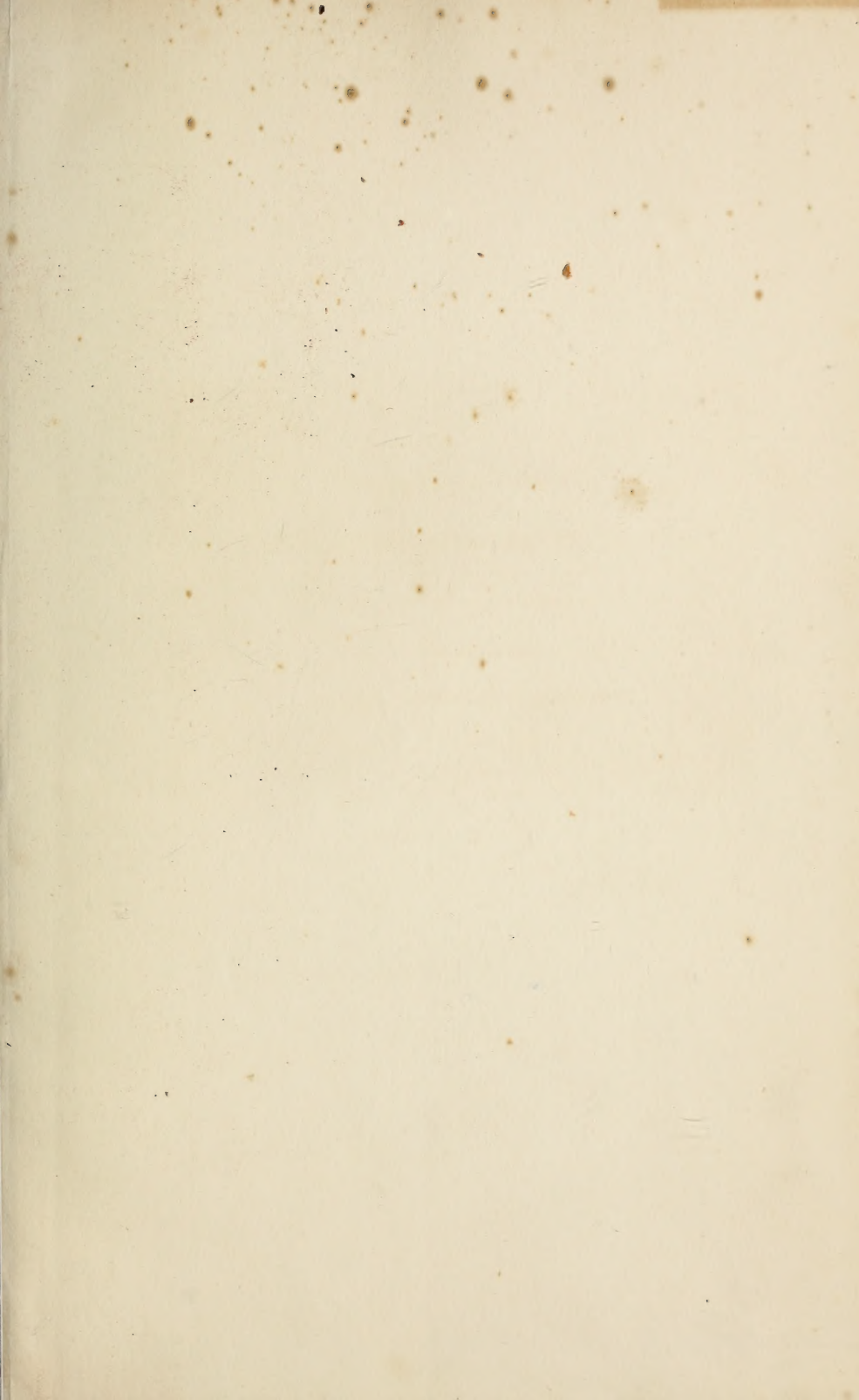


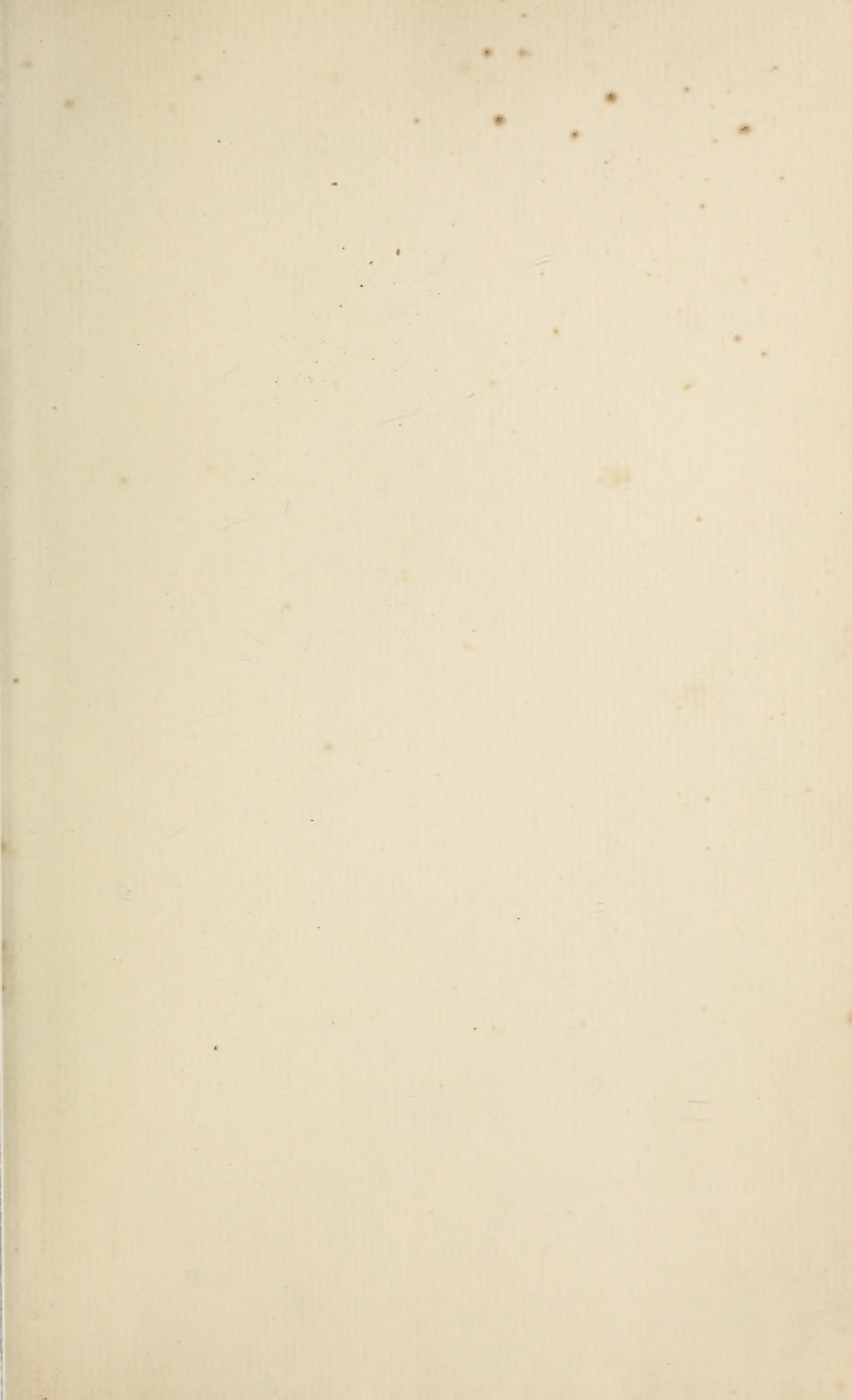
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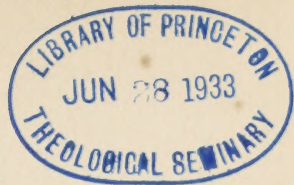
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THE
GUDE AND GODLIE BALLATIS



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A

✓
COMPENDIOUS BOOK
OF GODLY AND SPIRITUAL SONGS

COMMONLY KNOWN AS

‘THE GUDE AND GODLIE BALLATIS’

REPRINTED FROM THE EDITION OF 1567

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

✓✓
BY

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Printed for the Society by
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INTRODUCTION.

IN 1887-88 I edited for this Society 'The Richt Vay to the Kingdome of Hevin,'—the earliest known prose treatise in the Scottish dialect, setting forth the doctrines of the Reformers,—and in the Introduction, prefixed to it, I gave some account of the author, and of the sources from which his work was derived. It has seemed to me, that it would be a not inappropriate sequel to that work, that I should now edit the earliest known metrical treatise in our native tongue, which formally set forth the faith and teaching of the Reformers, and had a far more powerful influence on the course of events, and which it can now be shown was drawn from sources similar to those from which Gau also drew,—the writings of Luther and his followers—not, however, from their prose, but from their hymnological writings, which had hardly less influence in helping on the movement they had begun.

The new and vigorous spiritual life which had been aroused or quickened in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, through the earnest study of the Word of God in

I.
VERNAC-
ULAR
HYM-
NOLOGY.
(a) *On*
Continent
of Europe.

the vernacular, poured itself out in a continuous stream of popular sacred song, which diffused its influence more widely and made it penetrate more deeply. In Bohemia this had been so more or less even from the days of John Hus. Indeed there, as one of the most recent writers on the subject tells us,¹ "the demand for the use of the vernacular in church worship was even more fundamental than the similar desire in Germany, and preceded rather than followed the movement toward reform. Hus was also a prototype of Luther, in that he was virtually the founder of the Bohemian hymnody. He wrote hymns both in Latin and in Czech, and earnestly encouraged the use of vernacular songs by the people, and a number of the finest of these were ultimately translated into German." In Italy, as another has it, "from the Gulf of Genoa to the Adriatic Sea, in the deep valleys, among the purple Apennines, and even in queenly Florence, which a few years later sent the bold friar of San Marco to heaven in a chariot of fire, simple Italian ballads, containing some of the elementary truths of the Gospel, were rapidly winning their way among the common people; and Savonarola was altogether right when he trusted the truths which make wise unto salvation to these airy messengers." It was not the first time that God had chosen "the weak things of the world to confound the mighty." "Thirty years later the German churches were ringing with the hymns of Luther, Eber, Sachs, and Weisse, and the poetry of the Reformation wedded to popular music was treasured in the households" of the faithful from the mountains of Switzerland to the swamps of Holland and

¹ Professor Dickinson in 'North American Review,' October 1895.

the shores of the Baltic, and from the banks of the Rhine to those of the Vistula and the Danube, gaining entrance for the teaching of the Reformers, where neither themselves¹ nor their prose writings were allowed access.² The hymns then composed laid the foundation of one of the largest and noblest treasures of Hymnology which the Christian Church yet possesses, and the worth and influence of which were felt even within the old Church, and still continue to be shown by translations of its finest hymns into our own and other languages. "By the middle of the sixteenth century the reformed Hymnology of Denmark had assumed such a position as to call for a history from the pen of Thomisson." And that of Sweden was not far behind. Marôt's translations of the Psalms and other Scriptural songs into French verse were sung with relish to secular tunes in the dissolute Court of France, and wedded to more worthy music by Calvin and his coadjutors,³ made their way into the Protestant churches of

¹ It was not that previously there were no hymns any more than that there were no Bibles in the vernacular. The love of song and the practice of song in the vernacular existed long before, but the use of it in the services of the sanctuary, where not altogether ignored, was sadly hampered by want of clerical sympathy. "Luther set the national impulse free, and taught the people that in singing praise in a language they understood they were performing a service well pleasing to God and a necessary part of their public communion with Him. It was not simply that he charged the public hymnody with the energy of his world-transforming doctrine, he also gave it a dignity which it had not possessed since the apostolic age as a part of the official liturgic song of the Church, and it is this which gives it its importance in the history of sacred music."

² "The hymn became, next to the German Bible and the German sermon, the most powerful missionary of the evangelical doctrines of sin and redemption, and accompanied the Reformation in its triumphal march. Printed as tracts, the hymns were scattered far and wide, and sung in the house, the school, the church, and on the street. Many of them survive to this day, and still kindle the flame of devotion."—Schaff's 'German Reformation,' p. 501.

³ "That which struck the French refugees most when they arrived at Geneva

Switzerland and France, and ultimately, for the sake of the tunes, were translated into German by Lobwasser, and became popular in the Reformed churches there.¹

(b) *In
England.*

The only country which may be said to have formed a marked exception to the general rule, and in which consequently the progress of the Reformed faith among the common people was far more slow, was England, in which there was little of note save Sternhold and Hopkins' version of part of the Psalms of David, supplemented by the English exiles at Geneva, and others, and where, though at first enthusiastically received in London² and some of the larger cities, it hardly ever

was not the splendour of the lake or the gracious majesty of the monarch of the Alps, nor the physiognomy of the Reformer, nor the austerity of manners, nor the tyranny of the laws. It was the singing of the Psalms which was the great novelty of the epoch. If Beza, as he relates, was deeply impressed by this in 1548, the emotion of Marôt in 1542 must have been more profound still, when his verses sung with deep feeling to grave music by a numerous assembly fell on his ear under the vaulted roof of the church of St Pierre."—Douen's 'Clément Marôt et le Psautier,' i. 394.

¹ There were four or five other adaptations of the French Psalms and melodies in German, but Lobwasser's was by far the most popular, and formed the basis of similar adaptations of these Psalms and their melodies, in Danish, Dutch, Italian, &c. A detailed account will be found in the Bibliography appended to Bovet's 'Histoire de Psautier des Églises Reformées.'

² It was introduced by the exiles, on their return in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and by the injunctions which she issued in June 1559 it was provided that "for the comforting of such as delight in music, it may be permitted, that in the beginning or end of Common Prayer, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn, or such like song, to the praise of Almighty God, in the best melody and music that may be devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understood and perceived." This last direction is perhaps not unfairly interpreted by Cartwright, "understood by those, who because they cannot read cannot sing with the rest." Bishop Jewel, writing in the following year to Peter Martyr, informs him that "the people are everywhere exceedingly inclined to the better part. The practice of joining in church music (*ecclesiastica et popularis musica*) has very much conduced to this; for as soon as they had once commenced singing in public, in only one little church (St Antholin's) in London, immediately not

came to be generally appreciated and adopted outside of Puritan circles. Dr Newman, indeed, used to claim it as a remarkable proof of the caution and wisdom of the English Church that when she found it necessary to abandon the use of the grand old Latin hymns, she did not attempt to substitute others in their stead, but was content to be as one beginning the world again, and "in these respects poor and ill-furnished" like the primitive Church.¹

Scotland in this, as in so many other matters, had more in common with the foreign Reformed Churches than with the Church of the sister kingdom. The influence of sacred song in spreading the new faith and quickening to deeper spiritual life was hardly less conspicuous in our native land than on the Continent. Indeed after the prayerful study of the Scriptures in the vernacular, so earnestly contended for by Alexander Alesius, and conceded at last by the Scottish Parliament in 1543, there was not, during the twenty years of struggle and suffering which preceded the full establishment of the Reformed Church, any instrumentality that contributed so much to keep

(c) *In
Scotland.*

only the churches in the neighbourhood, but even the towns far distant, began to vie with each other in the same practice. You may now sometimes see at St Paul's Cross, after the sermon, six thousand persons, old and young of both sexes, singing and praising God. This sadly annoys the mass-priests and the devil, for they perceive that by these means the sacred discourses sink more deeply into the minds of men." — Zürich Letters, 1558-1579, p. 71. As he himself found, however, the innovation was not regarded with equal favour by many of the older ecclesiastics, and both he and the other visitors had to enjoin the clergy of Exeter Cathedral not to interfere with the people in singing a Psalm before morning prayer, but to "leave their frowardness," and "aid and assist the people in these their godly doings." Heylin will have it that the practice came in by connivance, not by positive allowance, and was found to interfere with the chanting of the prose canticles.

¹ Hymni Ecclesiæ, p. xi. It was not till the present century that the Church of England claimed her rightful usufruct of these old hymns.

to be treasured in the hearts of the people, and no doubt sung in their homes, though they never had formal ecclesiastical sanction. They had soothed the chafed spirit of Wishart on the night of his betrayal,¹ had deepened the early piety of the younger Melville while still at school in Montrose,² and comforted the hearts of mourners in that district as they performed the last office of kindness to departed friends,³ in sure hope that they—

“ . . . sall ryse on Domisday,
And haue immortall lyfe for ay.”

The story of the reputed authors of the collection, or rather of the principal part of it (for the book is anonymous and undoubtedly contains metrical pieces by other authors), cannot even yet be fully told. For though much has been done of late years to vindicate the character of John Knox as one of the truest patriots his country ever had, and to bring into clearer light the sad details of the story of Patrick Hamilton and of George Wishart, and to dissipate the haze which had gathered round the venerable forms of Alexander Alane or Alesius and John M'Alpine or Macchabæus, as well as of George Buchanan, yet I regret to say that the history of these authors still stands in need of further investigation and elucidation, and that with all the time and thought I have given to the subject, I have been able to glean but a very few facts in addition to those which Johnston and Calderwood long ago recorded regarding their personal history, and which Drs M'Crie and Laing have more recently indorsed.

II.
*More
detailed
account.*

Among the successive relays of young men who are

¹ Knox's History, vol. i. p. 139.

² Melville's Diary, pp. 22, 23.

³ Miscellany of Wodrow Society, pp. 298, 300.

said to have gathered round Gavin Logie¹ to drink of St Leonard's Well between the years 1514 and 1533, there were three brothers bearing the names of James, John, and Robert Wedderburn, sons of James Wedderburn, merchant at the West Kirk stile of Dundee. The surname of Wedderburn is said to be local, and to have been assumed by the proprietors of the lands of Wedderburn in Berwickshire as soon as surnames came into use in Scotland—that is, as Douglas tells us,² as early as the reign of Malcolm III. The Wedderburns of Forfarshire were an offshoot of those of Berwickshire, and had got a good position in Dundee before the middle of the fifteenth century. Before the end of that century there was certainly more than one family of them there, perhaps more than one among the prosperous merchant burgesses of Dundee, having commercial relations with Dieppe and some other foreign ports where Scotsmen had special privileges in trade.

Several Angusian³ Wedderburns studied in St Andrews in the early decades of the sixteenth century—three Johns, two or three Jameses, and two Roberts. The last three in the first list below⁴ are the three who are regarded

¹ First a Regent and then Principal of St Leonard's College. "He taught the truth secretly to many of his scholars," and in 1533 "was forced to flee out of the country."—Calderwood.

² 'Baronage of Scotland,' p. 278.

³ The *Angusiani* were one of the four "nations" into which the matriculated members of the University were divided; and, roughly speaking, the nation embraced the whole of the old Pictish kingdom to the north of the Tay—i.e., Scotland between the Tay and the chain of lochs now united by the Caledonian Canal, but excluding the part to the west of Drumalban which formed the older kingdom of the Scots, and with the old kingdom of Strathclyde and all parts furth of Scotland constituted the nation of the Albani. The other two nations were the Fifani, comprehending the whole district between the Forth and the Tay as far west as Drumalban or *Dorsum Britannia*, and the Loudoniani, comprehending the Lothians and the other counties of Scotland formerly embraced within the ancient kingdom of Northumbria.

⁴ The following is a list of the Wedderburns who matriculated or graduated

as the authors of the greater part of the book here reprinted. Their father was evidently a man of considerable wealth and reputation, even if he was not in the direct line of the Wedderburns of Blackness;¹ and his son John, on the occasion of his graduation, is entered in the University register as *dives*. In all probability it had been his cousin, or one of his sons, who aided Alesius² in 1531-32 in effecting his escape from Scotland in a Dundee vessel proceeding to the Continent. The three sons are said by at St Andrews between 1504 and 1530, and is hardly to be explained save on the hypothesis that there were at least two collateral families in Dundee or its neighbourhood of that surname :—

From oldest volume of 'Acta Rectorum,' inter nomina Incorporatorum.

- Anno 1504. Johannes Wedderburn, nac. Ang. (in Collegio *).
 " 1505. Ro[bertus] Wedderborne, nac. Ang. (in Pedagogio).
 " 1507. Johannes Wedderburne (in Collegio *).
 " 1507. Jacobus Wedderburne (in Collegio *)?
 " 1509. Jacobus Wedderbourn (in Collegio *).
 " 1514. Jacobus Wedderburne, nacionis Angusie.
 " 1525. Johannes Wedderburn (in Pedagogio).
 " 1526. Robertus Wedderburne (in Collegio †).

From oldest volume of 'Acta Facultatis Artium,' inter nomina Determinatorum et Licentiatorum.

- Anno 1509. *Primus Actus Collegii*,* Robertus Wedderburn, pauper, Determ.
 " 1511. Robertus Wedderburn, Licent.
 " 1526. *Quartus Actus*, Johannes Wedderburn, dives, Determ.
 " 1528. Johannes Wedderburn, Licent.
 " 1529. Robertus Wedderburn, in Collegio Divi Leonardi, Determ.
 " 1530. Robertus Wedderburne, in Collegio Divi Leonardi, Licent.

I have deemed it better to relegate the fuller explication of this matter to Appendix I. of this Introduction.

¹ As given by Douglas in his 'Baronage of Scotland,' pp. 278, 578. See, however, Appendix I. as to this question.

² Alesius had been suspected of sharing the opinions of Patrick Hamilton, and in consequence subjected to very harsh treatment by Prior Hepburn. He escaped from his dungeon, but after his escape he was accused, condemned, and degraded, and "doomed to perpetuall banishment from his country." He was spared not only to render essential service to the cause of the Reformation in the land of his adoption, but also, by his writings, to contribute to its progress in the land from which he had been exiled.

* *I.e.*, Sancti Salvatoris.

† *I.e.*, Divi Leonardi.

Calderwood to have studied under Logie, and to have gained their first knowledge of the new faith from him. But from the University registers it appears that John at any rate was for a time a student in the Pædagogium, or, as it was afterwards designated, St Mary's College, and that too during the very year that Patrick Hamilton was residing at the University, and with George Buchanan and his brother, and probably also Henry Balnaves,¹ was attending on John Major's prelections,—no doubt discussing, with these like-minded youths, the subjects brought before them in the prelections of the old Scottish scholastic. There is no reason to suppose, however, that at that time he acquired anything more than a general dissatisfaction with the old opinions, and a vague liking for the new. In fact, Calderwood tells us that it was only after his return and that of his brothers to their native place, and the instructions there received, that they were led on to fuller acceptance of the new teaching. This seems to have been brought about by Friar Hewat, then in the Dominican monastery at Dundee, but previously in that of Perth under M'Alpine, who for his opinions had already become an exile from his native land.² At length the two oldest brothers openly espoused the new opinions, and having drunk of the Pierian spring, as well as of St Leonard's Well, they used in defence and propagation of their new faith the invaluable gift of poesy, with which God had endowed them. The eldest brother James, though he studied at St Andrews, does not appear to have proceeded

(a) *James Wedderburn.*

¹ Afterwards, like Knox in 1547, a refugee in the Castle of St Andrews, a fellow-prisoner in France, and author of the treatise on 'Justification by Faith,' to which Knox wrote a commendatory preface.—Knox's Works, vol. iii. p. 431.

² See notice of him in Introduction to Gau's 'Richt Vay to the Kingdome of Hevin,' pp. x, xi, note.

to the degree either of Bachelor or Master of Arts. His name occurs in the list of those incorporated into the University in 1514, and Calderwood adds that he studied in St Leonard's College under Logie, and was reasonably well instructed in philosophy and humanity. After leaving college he went for some time to France, no doubt to acquire a knowledge of French and of his profession from some of the Scottish residents settled there, in Rouen or Dieppe. It was mainly through the seaports of the Netherlands and the north of France that the Scottish trade was then carried on. Scottish merchants had factors both at Dieppe and Rouen, and possibly, as I have hinted, the Wedderburns may have already had a branch establishment there. After his return to Dundee James Wedderburn, we are told, composed several tragedies and comedies in his native tongue, in which, as did Buchanan and Lyndsay about the same time, he exposed the corruptions of the clergy and the abuses of the Church. One of these compositions was a mystery, or sacred tragedy¹ on the beheading of John the Baptist, which was acted at the West Port of Dundee. Another was a comedy, compiled out of the history of Dionysius the

¹ "No doubt these took their rise in the wish to set vividly before the people the chief incidents of Scripture history. . . . A considerable portion consisted of action unaccompanied by words, while other parts were sung, not recited. . . . Scenes from the Old Testament or the Apocrypha . . . were introduced between the acts of the principal drama. . . . The stories of Joseph, Samson, David and Goliath, &c., were the favourite subjects of these *entr'actes*."—Abridged from Miss Winkworth's 'Christian Singers of Germany,' p. 81. In the detailed account given by a Scottish correspondent to the English Border Commissioner of the acting of Sir David Lyndsay's 'Satyre of the Three Estates,' before the King and Queen and Court at Linlithgow, we read: "In the first entres came in Solace, whose part was but to make merry, *sing ballads* with his fellows, and drink at the interludes of the play."

Tyrant, which, Calderwood tells us, was acted in the playfield of the same burgh.¹ In both of these plays he lashed the vices of the dominant ecclesiastics, and especially, we may suppose, of those clever, cruel, dissolute monks Prior Patrick Hepburn and Abbot David Betoun, who came to cherish such bitter and lasting enmity towards him and his brothers. No fragment of either of these plays is supposed to have come down to us, but no doubt we have a fair exhibition of their spirit, if not also a sample of their contents, in some of the pieces in the collection I am noticing, and especially in the extract from one of them here subjoined, which, it seems to me, can only apply to James Betoun the aged Archbishop of St Andrews and his two younger *protégés*, his nephew David, and Prior

¹ "Every town of note had its playfield, where these moralities were performed, some of which, from the pens of the clergy, were intended for the edification of the people, but by far the greater part to excite, by some approach to reality, the passions of the auditory—against their spiritual tyrants." "The getting up," as it is called, of a play was in those days a matter of no great difficulty. The open field or street was the theatre, the stage was the ground or a cart. Simple people are pleased with simple things. The following notice of dramatic properties in the city of Edinburgh in 1554 is taken from an Act of Council: "Ye Provost, Baillies and Counsaile ordanis the thesaurer Ro^t Grahame, to content and pay to Walter Bynning ye sowme of v lib. for ye making of ye playgrund, and paynting of ye handsenzé and ye playaris facis, quhilke beand payit, prouidand always y^t ye said Walter mak ye playgeir undir writtin furtecuman to ye town, quhen yai haif ado y^{rw}t, quhilkis he hes now ressaui—viz., viii play hattes, ane kingis crowne, ane *myter*, ane fulis hude, ane *foxis*, ane pair angell wyngis, twa angell hair, ane chaplet of tryumphe."—Abridged from Introduction to Dalrymple's 'Scottish Poems,' p. 31, and 'History of Dundee,' 1842, p. 95. But Mr Maxwell, in his more interesting and elaborate work on Old Dundee, gives a list of much more gorgeous properties, belonging to St Mary's Church and used in processions, including, *inter alia*, "threescore crownis, seven pair of angel wings, three myteris, thirty-one suerdis, twenty hedis of hair, Cristis cott of lathyr, Cristis hed, Abraamis hat, a saw, a ax, a rassour, a gully knyff."—'Old Dundee prior to the Reformation,' p. 383.

Patrick Hepburn, of whose escapades Alesius, as well as Knox, gives such a sad account :—

“ The Bischop of Hely brak his neck,
 Dishereist of his benefice,
 Cause he the preistis wald not correct,
 Corruptand Goddis Sacrifice :
 Sen our Hely, in his office,
 Is lyke in Preuaricatioun,
 He sall ressaif sic lyke Justice,
 Mak he nocht reformatioun.

“ The Leuites at thair awin hand,
 Thay reft thair teind, and mekle mair,
 Expres aganis Goddis command,
 Thair huredom haitit he rycht sair,
 Thairfoir, God send thame sic cruell weir,
 Thay tint the feild, the Ark was tane,
 Hely fell downe, throw suddane feir,
 And brak his neck, and coller bane.

“ Ophni and Phenis, zour conscience remord,
 Amend zour lyfe, or in the feild,
 Ze salbe slaine ; and ze, my Lord,
 Quhilk hes the wyte, that thay are keild,
 Helis Jugement salbe zour beild :
 And als zour mortal Ennemeis
 Sall bruke, withoutin speir or scheild,
 Zour office, euin befor zour eyis.

“ All the exempillis of the Law
 Ar writtin, with greit diligence,
 For our saikis, that we stand aw,
 Of Goddis hie Magnificence,
 Of this we haif experience
 Of diuers Natiounis round about,
 For Inglis Prelatis, Duche,¹ and Dence,
 For thair abuse ar rutit out.”

Had this not been written and sent abroad while the Archbishop and his hopeful nephew, “ my Lord Cardinal,”

¹ Deutsche—i.e., German.

were still in the height of their power, we can hardly doubt that the sad fate of the latter would have been adduced as a more emphatic warning to his brethren than that of English, "Duche," or Danish prelates.

James Wedderburn, Calderwood further tells us, composed another play, in which he counterfeited the "conjuring of a ghaist," which feat had in sober earnest been attempted at Kinghorn by Friar Laing, who had succeeded Seaton as confessor to James V.; but as that piece of folly had cost the friar his place, so the burlesquing of it is said to have brought on James Wedderburn a life-long exile from his native land. "He was delated to the King, and letters of caption were directed" against him; but he escaped secretly to France, and established himself as a merchant at Rouen or Dieppe, where he lived in prosperity and died in peace. The Scotch factors there, indeed, attempted to stir up the Bishop of Rouen against him, as one who had been convicted of heresy in Scotland, but apparently without success, as they could produce no document instructing his conviction. He retained his opinions, though probably privately,¹ to the last, and counselled his son to follow them out more resolutely. Possibly it was the presence of Wedderburn, and some other like-minded Scottish merchants at Dieppe and Rouen, which cheered the heart of Knox under the hardships he had to endure when a prisoner in the French galleys, and which, along with the powerful intercession of the English Government, ultimately secured his liberation; and it may have been that the presence of such

¹ As a Nicodemite, as Calvin would have said, for Mr Hume Brown, in his recent life of Knox, has shown that it was not till a later date—1554 or 1556—that those in Dieppe, who favoured the new views, openly separated from the old Church (vol. i. pp. 217, 218).

like-minded countrymen was one reason of his making Dieppe, once and again in subsequent years, his resting-place in his journeys to and from Geneva.

(b) *Robert
Wedder-
burn.*

Robert, the youngest of the three brothers, was incorporated into St Leonard's College in the year 1526, and seems to have taken his Bachelor's degree in 1529 and his Master's in 1530. From his name heading the list of graduates on both occasions, though it was not entitled to come first in alphabetical order, we seem warranted to infer that he was a distinguished student; and Calderwood expressly states that he excelled his brother both in classical learning and in Scriptural knowledge. He was early admitted to priest's orders, and in time "succeeded to his uncle as Vicar of Dundee," and continued to hold the office till his death in 1553. He also, at least during the life of the Cardinal, had to secure his safety by fleeing to a foreign land, spending part of the time in France, where he may have attended the University of Paris, and part in Germany, where, like his brother John, he may have attended at Wittenberg, but ultimately, if one might conjecture from the course he took on his return home, at Frankfort on the Oder, though his name does not appear in the matriculation lists of either University. Alesius had been Professor there in 1540-41, and Fyffe or Fidelis, another St Leonard's exile,¹ held the same office from 1547 to 1562. Robert Wedderburn returned to Scotland in 1546, possibly anticipating the death of the Cardinal, which he heard on his arrival

¹ He fled from Scotland in 1539. In 1540 he is entered in the registers of the University of Wittenberg as Joannes Faithus; in 1547 he is entered at Frankfort on the Oder as Professor of Theology, and in 1551 as Rector, under the name of Joannes Fidelis, Scotus. He died there 28th April 1562, in his seventy-second year, and did not, as was supposed, return home in 1560.

had just taken place. But he remained for the most part with the Laird of Calder, who was one of the strongest supporters of the new teaching. He is said to have superintended the editing of the godly and spiritual songs after his brother's death, and to have added to the book the "augmentation of sindrie gude and godlie ballatis not contenit in the first editioun," and also to have provided for the various metres appropriate tunes. But if the date of John's death is correctly given by Johnston, he outlived his brother Robert. Still, the latter may have made these additions after his brother's second expatriation and his own return in 1546.

It has been claimed for him that he was the author of a far more remarkable book—'The Complaynt of Scotland.' Mr Laing has strongly supported his claim to this honour. Dr Murray has opposed it. Mr Maxwell, in his 'Old Dundee prior to the Reformation,' has endeavoured at some length to rebut his arguments, and with no little ingenuity. It is certainly noteworthy that his name in the St Andrews matriculation list is entered in the same form as is the name of the author of the 'Complaynt' in Heber's Catalogue—viz., Vedderburne, and not Wedderburn. One familiar with the scenery in the neighbourhood of Dundee can have no hesitation also in admitting that it corresponds wonderfully with that described in the 'Complaynt.' But the spelling is altogether of a different type from that of the 'Gude and Godlie Ballates.'¹ And Vedderburne must have been a veritable

¹ Many of the same peculiarities and mistakes in spelling which Dr Murray finds in the 'Complaynt' may be found also in Gau's 'Richt Vay,' as vay, vardil, vark, vord, vith, vitht, witht, strinht, noht, blitht, mitht, ritht, nithtburs, virsthip, frendsthip, thousaud, for way, wardil, wark, word, with, strinht, nocht, blith, micht, richt, nichtburs, wirschip, frendschip, thousand, also simit for sinnit, muert for inuert, nuchty for michty, plaeis for placis, and auue for aune.

Vicar of Bray if he could first appear in 1547 as a supporter of the English alliance, then in 1549 take the opposite side both in State and Church politics, and some years later, when preparing the 'Augmentation of syndrie Gude and Godlie Ballates' for the second edition of his brother's book, should wheel round again to his first convictions, and, after all, die a vicar in the old Church.

(c) *John
Wedder-
burn.*

John, the second of the three brothers, is also said to have studied under Gavin Logie in St Leonard's College, and it is barely possible that he may have done so for a year; but in the University books, as already mentioned, his name appears among those *alumni* incorporated into what was then the Pædagogium, and afterwards became St Mary's College, and that, too, in the very year when several other Scottish worthies were also there, and John Major was lecturing on theology as well as philosophy—perhaps giving some of those prelections on the Gospels which he published afterwards in Paris. In the following year he appears among the Determinants from the Pædagogium, but though he took his Bachelor's degree in 1526, he only took the degree of Master in 1528. His course, therefore, at St Andrews was passed during the years which Patrick Hamilton spent chiefly there; and no doubt he was brought in contact with him, and may have had his love of sacred song quickened by association with him and the younger canons, who were then giving special attention to sacred music. Nor is it unlikely that he, as well as Alesius, may have witnessed that sad tragedy which was enacted at the gates of St Salvator's College on the last day of February 1527-28, when the amiable and youthful martyr endured those six hours of terrible agony ere he passed to his rest and reward,

and that it was the deep impression then made on his spirit which led him to indite such verses as the following :—

*“Thay brint, and heryit Christin men,
And flemit thame full far ;
Thay said, thay did bot erre,
That spak of the Commandementis ten,
Or red the word of Jesus Christ.*

*“Heretykis thay did vs call,
Curssand vs nycht and day,
The treuth durst na man say ;
Trew Preichouris war forbidden all
To schaw the word of Jesus Christ.”*

The impression made on John Wedderburn's spirit by what he heard and saw in St Andrews was deepened by his intercourse with Friar Hewat after his return to his native place, and before many years elapsed he made no secret of his adherence to the new faith. He had been persuaded, however, by his friends to enter into priest's orders, and for a short time he may have acted as a priest in Dundee;¹ but when he learned the way of

¹ It has been supposed to be to him that the following notice in one of our early chroniclers refers: “In the year 1530 Lord William Howard came as ambassador from Henry VIII. to his nephew James V., attended by a large retinue. They were skilled in archery and other games, as most Englishmen in that age were. For their entertainment a trial of skill in archery was proposed between them and the Scots, to take place at St Andrews. The Queen-Dowager, sister of Henry, staked a hundred crowns and a tun of wine on the English, and King James on the Scots. The contest took place at St Andrews, the Scottish champions being three landed men, David Wemyss of that ilk, David Arnot of that ilk, and Mr John Wedderburn, Vicar of Dundee, with three yeomen. They shot very near, and waured the Englishmen of the enterprise, and wan the hundred crowns and the tun of wine, which made the king very merry that his men wan the victory.” But it may be questioned, perhaps, if this does not rather apply to the John Wedderburne who entered St Salvator's College in 1504, or the one who entered in 1507, and is probably to be identified with him who, according to Douglas ('Baronage,' 578), was Town Clerk of Dundee, much in favour with James V., and the hero of the

God more perfectly, he made open profession of his faith, and in consequence of this profession, possibly disclosed by some overt act in that field of literature, in which he ultimately gained his fame—the divulging of some of his ballads,—he was summoned before the ecclesiastical authorities on a charge of heresy. Whether he actually appeared in answer to the summons, and was convicted on trial, and then succeeded in effecting his escape, or whether, like his brother James, he fled before trial, has not been quite definitely ascertained. The latter supposition seems more accordant with the statement of Calderwood; but the former is certainly more in consonance with the entries respecting so-called heretics, extracted by Dr M'Crie from the books of the King's Treasurer, and given at length in note H, appended to his 'Life of Knox.' It is there expressly said of a number of the persons mentioned that they were fugitive, and held confessed; but of Maister John Wedderburn it is said that he had been "convicted of certain charges of heresy,"¹ and his goods in consequence escheated to

above contest. He, like Wemyss and Arnot, was a landed proprietor. It was he also, I suppose, who had a respite, granted under the Privy Seal on 3rd April 1529, for the slaughter of John Thomson, to last for the space of nineteen years. I doubt also if the similar respite, granted to a Robert Wedderburn on 6th January 1537-38, can be referred to the Robert who graduated in 1530, and does not rather refer to another Robert not M.A.

¹ Perhaps the following lines may have some reference to a temporary lapse in his own case, as they certainly have to that of the other Dundee citizens not only convicted but "abjurit" in the years 1538, 1539—viz., James Annand, George Annand, Robert Anderson, John Flescheour, Alexander Flescheour, Thomas Kyd, Robert Paterson, Alexander Wannand, and John Duncan (M'Crie's 'Knox,' note H):—

"At midnycht myrk thay will vs tak,
And in to presoun will vs fling,
Thair mon we ly, quhill we forsaik
The name of God, quhilk is our King.

"Than faggottis man we burne or beir,
Or to the deid thay will vs bring;
It dois thame gude to do vs deir,
And to confusioun vs downe thring."

"The publick ceremonie of recanting in these times was to beare a faggot

his majesty's use, who had been pleased for a small composition to make a gift of them to his brother Henry. From another entry in the same books we learn that in March 1538-39 a "pursevant" or king's messenger had been directed to pass to Dundee and "serche James Rollokkis gudis, and Maister Johnne Wedderburnis." This entry unquestionably furnishes the reason for the former one, though as being part of his discharge it is inserted in a later part of the treasurer's books. In connection with the punishment inflicted, it renders it very probable that the charge on which Rollok and

of drie sticks and burne it publicklye, to signifie that they were destroying that which sould have been the instrument of their death."—Calderwood, vol. i. p. 109. The following are the forms of accusation and abjuration drawn up about that date in the "vulgar tongue," as given in the St Andrews MS. *Formulare*:—

1. "*Forma accusationis in linguâ vulgari*.—This I say to thé N. be the auctorité of oʳ haly moder the Kirk, my Lord Cardinale and Archbishop of Sanctandrois, Juge ordinar heir sittand, w^t the assistance of y^e reverend faderis in God, my lordis prelati, and venerabill clerkis and doctoris heir present, That thow N. Is hevily Defamit and Delatit of certain evil and peruersit opinionis contrar oʳ haly catholic and apostolic faith, And being at syndry conuenticlis aganis y^e samin, And In spetial I accuse thé, In y^e first, *prout in scedula*, &c. And y^rfore thow ar to be Jugit and declarit ane heretic, And for y^e samin to be scharly punist, as y^e law of haly kirk schewis and ordanis."

2. "*Forma abiurationis heretici conuictj in lingua vulgarj*.—I N. ane unworthy sone of y^e kirk of god, knawand y^e very catholic and apostolic faith, I detest, varyis and abiuris all heresie, And spetially It yat I am Infamit now w^t and accusit of, and tho^t to haue defendit, And consentis to our haly moder y^e kyrk of Rome, And to y^e faith apostolic, And heir presentlie, bo^t with hart and mowth, grantis me to hald and keip y^e samyn faith, quhilk oʳ haly moder y^e kirk catholic and apostolic ordanis to kepe, And sueris heir solemphtie be the haly Trinitie and thir haly Ewangelis, That quhat euer ya be, yat *cummis* aganis ye said Catholic and apostolic faith, Is cursit and varyit, And sseruis to be brynt in y^e eternall fyre of hell. And gyf in ony tyme to cum I cum aganis y^e samyn, or *presumiſ* to hald any opizions or preche or teche aganis y^e samyn, I obligs [me] to underly the severité and panis contenit in y^e common lau."

The grievous restrictions imposed on those who had been convicted of heresy, and had abjured and done penance, will be referred to afterwards, as well as the harder measure meted out to those who, on being suspected and summoned, had fled from trial.

Wedderburn were convicted was that of having in their possession heretical books or ballads. From this entry being included in the books for the same year as the other, the natural conclusion is that John Wedderburn's trial and flight took place early in 1539, and not, as Calderwood has it, in 1540. At any rate, he succeeded in effecting his escape from his persecutors, and after a short time he found his way to Wittemberg, that school of the prophets, which was then attracting so many noble and earnest young men from various lands.¹ There he was soon joined by his countrymen, Fyffe and M'Alpine, exiles from their native land for the same sacred cause as himself, and with them drank in the truth as it flowed fresh from the heart and lips of Luther and Melanchthon, and revived his spirit by Christian intercourse with them, as well as by deep draughts from the precious stream then being poured forth from the long-sealed fountain of sacred song. The influence of these happy years on John Wedderburn seems to have been specially marked, and to the opportunities he then enjoyed we must ascribe the firm grasp he got and retained of the vital principles of the evangelical theology, which he iterates and reiterates in his poetical compositions with singular persistence and prominence. So marked are these peculiarities that even when his poems are close translations he at times departs from the original to set forth more clearly and simply the way of salvation through the atoning death and justi-

¹ His name does not appear in the University Registers, but in the year 1539 the name of Joannes Scotus is entered, and it is just possible that Melanchthon, who is credited with changing Alane to Alesius, Fyffe to Faithus or Fidelis, and M'Alpine to Macchabæus, may have chosen this name for him. Coverdale often took the name of Michael Anglus during his exile.

fying righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, so that even the most heedless, who might peruse his hymns or ballads, might be left without excuse, if they continued to neglect the Saviour's free offers of mercy.

On the return of the King and his trusted Counsellor from France in 1537, the same repressive and remorseless policy they had seen in operation there was adopted in Scotland, to the regret of not a few who still clung to the Old Church, and to the sore distress of those who had abandoned it. But though cast down, they were neither cowed nor crushed even by the cruel penal statutes enacted against them by the Parliament of 1540-41;¹ and when the misguided monarch virtually died of a broken heart, and the Cardinal's intrigue to possess himself of the supreme power in the State as well as in the Church was foiled, the regency fell into the hands of one who professed to be friendly to the cause of the Reformation,² and who invited

¹ The only Acts of Parliament against heresies previously in force were the one of 1525 against the "damnable opunzeons of the heretic Lutherus and his discipillis," and that of 1535 for "eschewing of heresy, and the pains therof." Those of 1540-41 were much more severe and detailed: 1. "For honour of the haly sacramentis . . . conforme to the lawis and doctryne of haly Kirk." 2. "That the gloriou virgin Marie . . . be our all this realme reverendlie worschippit, . . . and that prayeris be maid to her." 3. "That na maner of persoun argun or impung the Papis autorité, under the pane of deid and confiscatioun of all thair gudis movable and unmovable." 4. "For reforming of Kirkis and kirkmen." 5. "That na private conventionis be maid to disput on the Scriptour." 6. "Of personis abjurit of heresy and admittit lauchfullie to penance, that nane of thai sall convers or comone with utheris," [nor] "sall exerss, haif, or brouk ony honest . . . degree or office, spirituall nor temporale." 7. "Fugitives suspect and summond for herisy . . . salbe baneist and condempnit as heretics, and it sall not be leful to na man to . . . mak supplicatioun for thair purgatioun, . . . under the pane to be puneist as favoraris of heretics, and the saidis personis fugitives not to be admittit to purgatioun." 8. "Reward of them that revelis conventiounis and accusis heretikis."

² The balance of parties at this critical juncture was more nearly equal than is generally supposed. "An active minority of the nobles and gentry saw in the government of Betoun not only their own personal ruin, but the giving

home the banished nobles, and winked at, if he did not encourage, the return of the exiled and fugitive Protestants. Early in the following year he allowed to pass through Parliament an Act permitting the Scriptures to be read in the vernacular, and caused it to be published at the market-cross of the chief burghs of the kingdom. Among the exiles who hastened to return to their native land, supposing that the hour of its deliverance was at hand, came John Wedderburn, with his harp strung and tuned to sing in fitting Scottish verse those noble songs which had touched his own heart in exile, as they had touched and moved the hearts of the German people, and, amidst all their wanderings, have continued to do so down to the present day.

III.
COMPEN-
DIOUS
BOOK.
(a) *Its
Origin.*

It is principally to John, the second of this noble band of brothers, that we owe, in its rudimentary form, the 'Compendious Book of Psalms and Spiritual Songs,' the wide circulation and great influence of which, in those years of peril that preceded the ultimate triumph of the Reformation, are acknowledged by Row and Calderwood, and several of our ecclesiastical historians in more recent

away of the country to a power more dangerous to its liberties than England itself. With those who favoured England were naturally associated those who desired a reformation of religion, a body now so numerous in the opinion of a papal legate [Grimani] who visited the country in 1543, that but for the interposition of God, Scotland would soon be in as bad a case as England itself."—Hume Brown's 'John Knox,' vol. i. p. 65. The reference to Grimani's opinion is taken from Stevenson's 'Mary Stuart,' p. 51. Archibald Hamilton, writing many years later of this crisis, says frankly that the governor Hamilton not only recalled from exile those whom King James had banished, but "*se totum illorum consiliiis regendum permisit. . . . Quo factum est ut quam minimum abfuerit quin, abrogatâ Ecclesiastica potestate, Anglorum heresin . . . vel tunc secum innoxissent. . . . Si ea paulo diutius durassent consilia, jam pridem de Ecclesia Scoticana actum fuisset.*" See the whole passage in his 'Confusionis Calvinianæ Demonstratio,' f. 16.

times. In all likelihood it had been begun while he was still abroad, and using those songs of the German Church, to which we shall find that many of his own bear a close resemblance—possibly on the suggestion of the same wise and thoughtful counsellor who had encouraged Alesius to contend so strenuously for the free circulation of the Word of God in Scotland,¹ the good and gentle Melancthon,—to whom through these his two pupils our native country owes a debt of gratitude which its historians have hitherto been slow to acknowledge. What part of the collection first appeared, and when and where it was published, cannot now be definitely ascertained. The earliest edition known till recently was that of 1578, reprinted by the late Mr David Laing, which makes distinct reference to an earlier but less extensive one. A copy of an earlier edition since brought to light² is at least ten years older; but the three or four pieces it lacks, of those found in the edition

(b) *Early
editions of
Book.*

¹ In 1533 he published an 'Epistola contra decretum quoddam Episcoporum in Scotiâ, quod prohibet legere Novi Testamenti libros linguâ vernaculâ.' This was replied to in the same year by John Cochläus, "der gewaffnete mann," as Luther contemptuously terms him, in a treatise entitled 'An expediat laicis legere Novi Testamenti libros in linguâ vernaculâ.' It was made up to a large extent of abuse against his opponent, who replied in 1534 by his 'Responsio ad calumnias Cochläi.' See Anderson's 'Annals of the English Bible,' Book iv. sec. i. ii. iii. iv., for a detailed account of these tracts of Alesius, and of the great influence they had in preparing the way for the concession to the laity of what he pleaded for. Gau's 'Richt Vay to the Kingdome of Hevin,' published about the same time, seems also to have gained an entrance into the country and to have contributed to the result.

² My lecture in Broughty Ferry in the spring of 1867 was the means of drawing this from the obscurity in which it had long lurked. An old bookseller in Dundee with whom I had for long had dealings informed me that a friend of his was very anxious to show me an old book, which he thought would interest me. I need not say how overjoyed I was, when I found not only that it was a copy of an old edition of Wedderburn's book, but also of an older edition than had been previously known. The owner kindly allowed me to take it with me, and after carefully examining it, and urging the University, but without success, to secure the treasure, I persuaded my honoured friend, Mr

of 1578,¹ could hardly have been described as an “augmentation of sindry gude and godlie ballates”; so that we cannot but conclude that there was an earlier, perhaps more than one earlier, and more rudimentary form of the book. The probability is that, as was the case in Germany, some of the hymns and ballads may have been printed separately, and sold through the country soon after the author’s return to Dundee, or made known by wandering minstrels, who sung or declaimed them,—perhaps two or three which make reference to the disagreement and consequent hostilities between Henry VIII. and James V., or to the breach of the treaty for the marriage of Prince Edward of England with the Princess Mary of Scotland, brought about through the intrigues of the Cardinal and the clerical party, or to the repeated wars between the two countries, and the destruction of religious houses, not only in the south of Scotland by the incursions of the English, but also in the neighbourhood of Dundee itself by the supporters of the Reformation² and the English alliance—one or two also which allude to the refusal of the Popish prelates to consent to hold a council for the reformation of the Church, and the one already quoted,

Patrick Anderson, to purchase it and secure it permanently for Dundee—promising, if spared, to get it reprinted. This, through the kindness of his representatives and of the Scottish Text Society, I have at last been enabled to do.

¹ At p. 214 of his reprint of the edition of 1578 Mr Laing says: “Many years ago I obtained a fragment of an edition smaller, I think, in size than either of these editions of 1600 and 1621, but unluckily I cannot ascertain what became of the leaves.” This fragment turned up, however, in a parcel of fragments, at the sale of his library, and is now in possession of the University of St Andrews. It consists of eight leaves (signature C), and contains the same text as the edition of 1600.

² “In this tyme thair was ane greit heresie in Dundie; thair thai destroyit the kirkis, and wald have destroyit Aberbrothok kirk, war not the Lord Ogilbie.”—*Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 29.

and apparently addressed to the head of the Scottish clergy. Then, as Dr M'Crie has observed, some of the Psalms in the collection, and probably therefore the collection itself in a rudimentary form, must have been published before the death of Wishart, as it is expressly stated by Knox in his history that, on the night in which he was apprehended, the martyr had sung part of the fifty-first Psalm in Scottish metre; and the two lines which Knox quotes coincide with no other known version of this Psalm than the long paraphrase of it found in the second part of the 'Godlie and Spirituall Sangs.' Moreover, as we do not hear of any overt act by which John Wedderburn could have so exasperated the clergy that he should have been obliged again to flee from his native country and to remain in exile till his death, it is only natural to conclude that this was owing to the publication of his spiritual songs and ballads, and to the indignation, thereby excited against him, among the clergy.

This seems to be put beyond doubt by an Act of the Privy Council, first printed by Dr Joseph Robertson in his 'Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ,' which was issued by the Regent Arran only two months after he had given consent to the Act of Parliament allowing the Scriptures to be read in the vulgar tongue: "Because slanderous bills, writings, *ballates*, and *books* are daily made, written, and prentit to the diffamation of all estatis both spiritual and temporal, and giffes occasion to ilk ane to leichtlie and contem vthers, . . . for remeid hereof it is statut and ordanit that na manner of man tak upon hand to make, write, or imprint ony sic bills, writings, *ballatis*, . . . under the paine of deid and confiscatioun of all their gudis move-

able; and also ordanis all printaris and others, as hes sic *bukis*, that they destroy and burn the samin within forty-eight hours, after they be chargit at the markat cross of Edinburgh, and at the markat cross of other burrowis; and in special the new dialoge callit Pascullus¹ and the ballit callit the Bair, that are ellis printit and set furth, and all others sic like, under the pane foresaid, and sic like that nane haue or hald ony bukis or works of condampnit heretics, . . . under the pain containit in the Acts of Parliament.”² One of the other burghs at the market cross of which this Act was proclaimed we know was Dundee, and not only so, but the provost of that burgh, John Scrymgeour, was charged by the Regent to apprehend and bring to Edinburgh Johne Scot, a noted printer then following his calling in Dundee, to be punished according to his demerits. This the provost delayed to do, but being further pressed, rather than comply “he renuncit his office of provost” for a time.³ Of course Wedderburn was one of the “condampnit heretics” who are pointed at in the Act of Privy Council as having dared without leave to come again into the realm.

The internal evidence supplied by the contents of several of the ballads to the same effect has already been referred to. But more special reference must be made to the

¹ Ein newer Pasquillus von der Christlichen Kirchen, Clage:—

“*Summarien.*

“Der Bapst zu Rom wil helfen nicht,
Der fromme Keiser darff gar nicht,
Der Konigk von Frankreich der ken nicht,
Portgal ist mit güttern vorpflicht,
Schottland der Königk versteht es nicht,
Denmargk ist noch befriedet nicht,
Englandt ist yetzt in weyber pflicht.”

—MDXLI., s. l.

² Robertson’s ‘Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ,’ vol. ii. p. 294.

³ Maxwell’s ‘Old Dundee prior to the Reformation,’ p. 139.

funeral hymn previously mentioned at p. xvi, and given at length on pp. 163-165. It was one of the hymns which came to the Germans from the land of Hus. As originally introduced it consisted of seven verses, to which in the Magdeburg hymn-book¹ of 1540 an eighth verse was added. This is the twelfth in the Scottish version of the hymn, and between the seventh and eighth verses of the German, four original verses are introduced bearing manifest reference to the circumstances of Dundee during the years 1544-45, when John Wedderburn the poet and John Scot the printer were there, and when the town had been visited, first by the Regent and Cardinal, with troops to overawe and punish the so-called heretics, and then, like several other towns of Scotland, by the plague. The evangelist who shortly before had been inhibited in the Queen and Governor's name to preach any more to them, returned at once to comfort them in their sore extremity, and from the East Port of the town, with the sick outside the Port and the whole within, preached that famous sermon of which his admiring disciple Knox has given the following sympathetic account: "The text . . . he took fra the hundreth and sevin Psalme; the sentence thareof, 'He send his woorde and healed thame;' and tharewith joyned these woordis, 'It is neather herbe nor plaster, O Lord, butt thy woord healleth all.' In the which sermoun he maist confortablie did intreat the dignitie and utilitie of Goddis woord; the punishment that cumis for the contempt of the same; the promptitude of Goddis mercy to such as trewlye turn to him; yea, the great

¹ Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen, Magdeburg, *Lotther*, MDXL., Wackernagel's Bibliographie, p. 166. The Danish and Swedish versions of this hymn also contain eight verses. For brief account of Wishart see Appendix II.

happynes of thame whom God tackis from this miserie, evin in his awin gentill visitatioun, *which the malice of man can neyther eik nor paire*. By the which sermoun he so raised up the hartis of all that heard him, that thei regarded nott death, but judged them more happy that should depart, than such as should remane behynd; considering that thei knew nott yf thei shuld have such a confortar with them at all times." It would almost seem as if the poet had been present at that sermon, and under the emotions it had called forth had set himself to insert the following verses in the funeral hymn:—

- 8 "Quhen cumin is our hour and tyme,
That we man turnit be in slyme,
And thair is nane vther defence,
Bot die in hope with patience,
- 9 "Thocht *pest or sword* wald us preuene
Befoir our hour, to slay us clene,
Thay cannot pluk ane lytill hair
Furth of our heid, nor do vs deir.
- 10 "Quhen fra this warld to Christ we wend,
Our wratchit schort lyfe man haue end,
Changeit fra paine and miserie
To lestand gloir Eternallie.
- 11 "End sall our dayis schort and vaine,
And sin, quhilk we culd nocht refraine;
Endit salbe our pilgremage,
And brocht hame to our heritage."¹

¹ In that remarkable treatise 'The Complaynt of Scotland'—originally published, as is now supposed, in France about 1549, and republished first by Dr Leyden in 1801, and again by Dr Murray in 1872—it has been asserted that seven at least of the songs there mentioned are contained in the 'Gude and Godlie Ballates,' and that the mention of them in the 'Complaynt' is evidence that these 'Ballates' had been printed before 1549. Even Sir J. G. Dalyell seems to endorse this; but both Dr Leyden and Dr Murray are inclined to hold

There can be as little doubt that Wedderburn's book was one, if not the chief, of those aimed at in the canon made at the council of the Scottish clergy in 1549, wherein it was enjoined that search should be made in the several dioceses for those who retain in their possession any *books* of *rhymes* or *ballads*, containing either scandalous charges against the clergy and their constitutions, or any heresy ; that the books when found should be confiscated and burned, and that the sale, printing, and reading of them should be prohibited under the severe pains contained in the Acts of Parliament. The Acts of Parliament, however, previous to this date, had not expressly prohibited metrical productions as distinct from heretical books generally. But the Acts of subsequent Parliaments¹ do so ; and yet, notwithstanding this and the canons of subsequent ecclesiastical councils, the 'Compendious Book of Godlie and Spirituall Sangs' was not only not extinguished, but even more firmly maintained its place in the hearts and households of the Scottish people. In the course of the succeeding half-century it passed through several editions, of four

that the songs mentioned in the 'Complaynt' are not those found in the 'Gude and Godlie Ballates,' but the secular or profane songs which are therein spiritualised. But even if this were clearly made out, there remains to be accounted for, among the dances enumerated, "Al Cristyn mennis dance," of which no possible explanation can be given, save that it refers to the 'Gude and Godlie Ballate'—

"Be blyith all Christin men and sing,
Dance and mak myrth with all your mycht,"

which is a translation of one of Luther's earliest hymns, the tune of which was a secular tune, picked up by him, it is said, from a wandering minstrel. That could only have come to be known in Scotland from its association with this "sang of the Euangell."

¹ Especially that of 1551, the printing without a licence of "bukis concerning the faith, ballatis, sangis, blasphematiounis, rymes alsweill of kirkmen as temporall and vtheris, tragedies alsweill in Latine as in Inglis tounge," under pain of confiscation and banishment.—Act. Parl. Scot., ii. 488, 489.

of which at least one copy still remains. It was not till after the first quarter of the seventeenth century that it fell into oblivion. Even Calderwood seems to have had but an indistinct notion of the circumstances in which it originated; and our Church historians ever since, if they have condescended to notice it at all, have generally contented themselves with a very meagre, if not contemptuous, reference to its contents and historical relations.

(c) *Re-prints of Book.*

1. Dal-yell's re-print of 1621 edition.

2. Mr Laing's reprint of 1578 edition.

In 1765 a selection of the satirical pieces it contains was edited by Lord Hailes,¹ and about the beginning of the present century a larger one by Sibbald;² the whole were reprinted from the edition of 1621, with a historical introduction by Sir J. G. Dalryell.³ The editor, however, did not fully understand some of the historical allusions in the book, nor even the allusion of Calderwood as to its origin, substituting for his words, "he translated many of the *dytements* of Luther into Scottish verse," the words, "he translated many of the *principles* of Luther into Scottish verse." Mr David Laing (to whom we owe reprints of so many valuable works of the sixteenth century) in 1868 republished the book⁴ from the edition of 1578, the earliest edition then known to him; and it goes without saying that the work was a most decided advance on the previous reprints, and was fully and accurately illustrated by the learned notes of the editor. He had my full permission to make what use he chose of the material I had gathered together in

¹ A 'Specimen of . . . Ane Compendious Booke of Godly and Spiritual Sangs.' Edinburgh, Ruddiman, 1765.

² In vol. iii. of his 'Chronicle of Scottish Poetry.' Edinburgh, 1802.

³ In his 'Scotish Poems of the Sixteenth Century.' Edinburgh, 1801.

⁴ A 'Compendious Book of Psalms and Spiritual Songs,' commonly known as 'The Gude and Godlie Ballates,' Edinburgh, 1868.

my lecture on the 'Wedderburns and their Work,' which had been published by Messrs Blackwood & Sons in the previous year, and in the conclusion of his preface he generously acknowledged his obligations to that lecture.¹

My thoughts were first specially turned to the book in the summer of 1866 by finding several pieces from it inserted at length in a very interesting volume of 'Catechisms of the Scottish Reformation,' published some time before by the Rev. Dr Horatius Bonar. I do not know whether it was that the spirit of contradiction had been roused in me, by what appeared to be a somewhat needless depreciation of Luther's Catechism, and a rather unmeasured laudation of Wedderburn's as so far in advance of it, or whether my zest after such correspondences had been unusually quickened by some other discoveries I had lighted on shortly before, but so it was that when I turned from Dr Bonar's preface to the extracts he gave from the first part of Wedderburn's metrical Catechism, I was at once startled by the fact that the Commandments appeared to be given in the Lutheran or Roman form—*i.e.*, the first and second, as we and the Greek Church reckon them, being united into one, and what we reckon the tenth being split into two; and further, that if the doctrine taught in Wedderburn's hymns on Baptism and the Lord's Supper was not narrowly Lutheran, it was not markedly at variance with that which Luther taught. Then, on further examination, the measure and ring of the metrical version of the Apostles' Creed brought to mind Luther's famous hymn on the same subject, and the last hymn extracted from the collection by Dr Bonar at once brought to mind

(d) *Sources
of Book.*

¹ Preface, pp. lix, lx. "I have gladly availed myself in the Notes of the author's learned researches."

a hymn of the same era which is still sung at funerals in Germany, and has been translated into English in our own day by Miss Winkworth. By a reference to my German hymn-book, I soon satisfied myself that three of the nine poetical pieces extracted by Dr Bonar from Wedderburn's book were pretty close translations from the German, and that other three, though less close, yet by the similarity of their metre, and by numerous verbal coincidences, gave unmistakable evidence of a similar origin. The metrical graces and the other three longer pieces, extracted by Dr Bonar, I did not, with the materials then at my command,¹ succeed in tracing to the same source. When in Edinburgh in the course of the summer I brought the subject and my conjectures respecting it under the notice of Mr Laing, to whose more extensive knowledge on all questions connected with the history and literature of our Reformation I had been accustomed to defer, and of whose kind counsel I have often availed myself in similar circumstances. But he did not appear to have had his attention specially called to it before, or to have heard of any such close relation being traced between these Scottish and the old German hymns, and could only suggest that possibly the resemblances might be satisfactorily accounted for by the derivation of both Scottish and German hymns from the Latin. So the matter rested till the end of autumn, when it occurred to me that the subject was one which, in my then infirm state of health, I might prosecute with interest and yet without exhaustive mental labour. Accordingly I sought for materials to carry out the inquiry, and

¹ My hymn-book was the 'Evangelisches Gesangbuch herausgegeben von der Synode Tecklenburg,' printed at Gütersloh in 1854, and containing but a few of the sixteenth-century hymns.

particularly for an old German hymn-book¹ and Wackernagel's 'Deutsches Kirchenlied' of 1841, and some of his other valuable works on the bibliography of German hymns.² A repeated and careful examination of these works enabled me to trace fully one-half of the compositions contained in the first part of Wedderburn's book to German sources, several of them, though executed with much taste and poetic spirit, being rendered almost line for line; others, being far more free as well as spirited translations or adaptations, and several evidently composed when the translator's muse was in a less auspicious mood, giving indications of their origin only by general similarity, occasional verbal coincidences, and the use of the same metre and refrain as the corresponding German hymns. On closer examination of the book itself, I found it contained a notice which it seems strange should have previously attracted so little attention. It is at the end of what I have called the first part of the book, and runs as follows: "Heir endis the Spirituall Sangis, and beginnis the Psalmes of Daudid, with vther new plesand Ballatis, as efter followis. Translatit out of Enchiridion Psalmorum, to be sung." It was plain, therefore, that whatever might be the case with the hymns which preceded, those which followed fell to be regarded as translations from some previously existing work, and yet this was the fact, to which no attention seemed to have been given before, that these Psalms were but translations of some other metrical version.

¹ Geistliche Lieder, Psalmen, und Kirchen Gesänge: Dantzick, 1653. Prefixed it has Lobwasser's Psalmen nach Frantzosen melody in Deutsche reimen gebracht. The Lüneberg Kirchen Gesänge of 1628 was also lent me.

² 'Das Deutsche Kirchenlied von Martin Luther bis auf Nicolaus Herman und Ambrosius Blaurer, von Dr K. E. P. Wackernagel.' Stuttgart, 1841. 'Bibliographie des Deutschen Kirchenliedes im XVI Jahrhundert, von Philipp Wackernagel.' Frankfurt am Main, 1855.

The question naturally arose, But what is this 'Enchiridion Psalmorum'? The friend to whom I had recourse in my difficulties was, even with his great knowledge of the books and history of the time, unable to solve this question for me, and in despair I tried to cut, if not to loose, the Gordian knot. The careful examination of the bibliographical treatises of Wackernagel revealed to me the fact that between the years 1524 and 1545 a large number of hymn-books bearing the general name of 'Enchiridion' or 'Handbüchlein,' and more commonly 'Enchiridion geistlicher Gesänge und Psalmen,' issued from the German press, generally containing in their first part some such collection of hymns or spiritual songs as is given in the first part of Wedderburn's book, and in their second part "Psalmen und Lieder," which may without much forcing be rendered "Psalmes and Ballatis." The first of these was published at Erfurt in 1524,¹ and it is in another of them, published at the same place in 1528,² that the version of the second Psalm, pretty freely rendered by Wedderburn and placed at the head of this second part of his book, is supposed to have first appeared. It is rather, however, to one of the Strassburg or Magdeburg hymn-books that I am disposed to trace this second part of Wedderburn's book, in so far as it is a translation from the German; and both these, so far as their versions of the Psalms are concerned, are derived chiefly from a Swiss hymn-book,

¹ Eyn Enchiridion, oder Handbüchlein eynem ytzlichen Christen fast nützlich zuhaben, zur stetter übung und trachtung geystlicher gesenge und Psalmen, &c., MCCCCXXIII. Three editions with additional pieces were issued in 1526, with the title 'Enchiridion geystlicher Gesenge und Psalmen,' and one at Lübeck in 1545 with the title, 'Enchiridion Geistlike Lede und Psalmen uppet nye gebetert.'

² Enchiridion geistlicher Gesenge und Psalmen, für die leyen, mit viel andern denn zuvor gebessert, 1528.

published at Zürich in the year 1536, which has now so completely disappeared that even Wackernagel in the earlier edition of his 'Kirchenlied' was not able to give its exact title.¹ I thought it was probably to one of these Enchiridia that reference was made in the notice quoted above. The only other conjecture which occurred to me on the subject, and which I am now disposed to regard with greater favour than I did at first, was that this 'Enchiridion Psalmorum' was the name of a Latin prose translation of the Psalms from which the German metrical versions had originally been made, and that in this instance Wedderburn has simply retained and translated what he found in his German hymn-books. A Latin prose translation of the Psalms with the above title existed at least as early as 1533, and is specifically referred to in several German hymn-books, though not so frequently as the prose translation by Joannes Campensis, which, however, was often printed in parallel columns with the other. This was followed in the German metrical Psalter of 1537; and I am now able to add that a typographical error in a later edition² of this 'Enchiridion' is probably the explanation of one rather remarkable deviation of Wedderburn's translation of the same Psalm lxxix. from the original. In that edition the Campensian version of v. 8 runs, *Ne scelerum memor esse velis in malum nostrum, aquæ antehac commisimus*, &c. This *aquæ*, it is at once apparent, is a misprint for *quæ*, which is the reading of other editions of the book, and it is out of this misprinted word that the Scottish poet has elaborated the beautiful simile referred to on p. lix.

¹ Copies of the edition of 1537 still exist—one of them in the British Museum.

² Enchiridion Psalmorum: Lugduni, 1538.

(e) *Contents of Book.*

The following is a brief account of the contents of the 'Compendious Book.' The edition of 1578 has, like several of the early Scottish Psalm-books, a calendar prefixed. The book proper commences with the Catechism, containing the elementary instruction, which was intended to be specially impressed on the minds of the young and ignorant, and in order that it might be so and also be more effectually retained in their memories, was given in a metrical as well as in a prose form. The text of the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, as well as the Scriptural account of the institution of Baptism, of the Lord's Supper, and of the power of the Keys is placed first, and is taken, not from any English version of the Scriptures with which I am acquainted, but rather from Luther's German version, though there is one peculiar rendering which is hardly to be accounted for even thus. The reading given in editions 1600 and 1621¹ enables us apparently to solve this difficulty. In the extract of the prose translation of Titus iii., instead of the words "according to hope this is true," they read "according to the hope that is true," which was possibly meant as a translation of the old Zürich German version of the passage, which does not, like our English version, read that we should be made "heirs according to the hope of eternal life," but that we should be made "heirs of eternal life," and connects the words "according to the hope" with

¹ Though latest in point of time, this professes to be corrected according to the *original* edition; and though it has undoubtedly modernised the spelling, it has occasionally preserved an old reading. The deviation in this instance in the editions of 1567 and 1578 may have arisen from a desire to bring the text as near as possible to that of Coverdale's version, following in this instance Luther's German, "y^t we beynge made righteous by his grace shuld be heyres of eternal life according to hope. This is a true sayinge."

those that follow—"Das wir erben syynd des ewigen läbens, nach der hoffnung, das ist ye gewisslich wahr."¹

After these six prose *Stücke* come five corresponding metrical hymns, three of which are pretty close yet spirited translations of Luther's hymns on the Creed, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper. The stanza and refrain of the metrical version of the Ten Commandments are the same as Luther's, and the First and Second Commandments, as previously mentioned, are joined together as in Luther's hymn; but the detailed explanation of the individual Commandments is not closely similar, and the first verse more closely resembles another German metrical version among the ten given by Wackernagel in his 'Deutsches Kirchenlied.' The metrical version of the Lord's Prayer, though composed in the same stanza as Luther's and several other of the German versions, does not in details very closely resemble any of them which I have yet seen. But it is rather remarkable that while the versions of the Ten Commandments and the Creed appended to Knox's Psalter are taken from the French-Genevan Psalter, the version of the Lord's Prayer which follows them is a singularly faithful yet spirited translation of Luther's version, not unworthy to stand side by side with any of the modern English translations of it. The hymn on the sixth article of the Catechism—*i.e.*, the "office of the Keys" and "the virtue of holy absolution"—usually given in German hymn-books, is not found in the Scotch, though, as noticed above, the prose statement on this subject has been retained. This would seem to show either that this hymn was not deemed suited to the latitude of Scotland,

¹ Zürich Bible of 1531, as if *das* were a misprint for *die*. But most editions put a colon between *hoffnung* and *das*.

or was soon expunged as being found unsuitable. To these five hymns succeed various metrical graces to be said before and after meat, several of which may be found in old German hymn-books, and the longest of which still holds its place in some modern German hymnals. The spiritual songs, proper, of the Scotch book begin with two confessions of sin, followed by a song of the contest between the flesh and the spirit, and another of the Cross and the fruit thereof, the last three of which are pretty close versions of German hymns given by Wackernagel, while the first bears considerable resemblance to one which probably also had a place in early German hymnals.¹ After these follow rather lengthy paraphrases of the parables of the Prodigal Son, and the Rich Man and Lazarus,—abridgments of German metrical paraphrases of these passages of Scripture which were in circulation by the year 1536. To these succeed a metrical version of the history of our Lord's Passion—a pretty close rendering of an old German hymn still to be found in some modern hymnals, and "Ane Sang of the Evangel and the fruit thereof," which is a less close but more spirited translation of what was long deemed to be the first hymn composed by Luther, but recently has been assigned to the second place.² The Scotch translation opens with the lines to

¹ It is found in the Danish 'Handbog med Psalmer oc aandelige lofsange' of 1536, and in the Swedish hymn-books, many of the hymns of which are translations from the German. As it has cost me some trouble to hunt it out, I subjoin the first four lines of the Scotch version alongside of the Danish :

Sore I complaine of Sin
And with King David weip,
I feill my hart within
The wraith of God full deip.

Beklage aff all mijn synde
maa ieg mett Koning Daidt,
Ieg kan thet oc befinde
mijn Gudt handt war meg wredt.

² This has only been settled recently. It held the first place among Luther's hymns in Wackernagel's 'Deutsches Kirchenlied' of 1841, and Bunsen regarded it as still fundamentally the first—the beautiful verses on the two martyrs of Brussels being rather a poem than a hymn for congregational worship.

which I stated there is undoubted allusion in the 'Complaynt of Scotland.' Next come four hymns on the Incarnation and Birth of Christ, three of which still hold their places in German hymn-books, and are among the finest of the many hymns on this subject which the German churches possess. The Scottish version of the first of them, though now antiquated in language, is quite worthy, in respect of pathos and poetic merit, to take its place side by side with the two beautiful versions of it published in English in our own day. The second, third, and fourth of these hymns came to the German Church through the Latin; but the resemblance of the Scotch versions to the German, in their variations from the Latin, is too marked to leave any doubt that they, like so many of the others, are taken directly from the German. The second of these hymns contains one stanza which is not found in the common German copies. The third is one of the wildest liltis which the medieval Church possessed, and its odd mixture of Scotch and Latin is a faithful reproduction of the mixture of German and Latin which was the favourite form of this hymn in Germany in the sixteenth century.¹ It, as well as the fourth, of these Christmas hymns, contains some glaring typographical errors, which a reference to the German originals enables us to correct.² These four hymns are succeeded by a

¹ And not quite in desuetude even yet. When two of our German missionaries, who had been barbarously used by the Emperor of Abyssinia, came to Scotland in 1868 to tell of their sufferings, they sung it repeatedly to me to the old tune, as did also Mr Späth, our mission-teacher at Smyrna.

² As *dulce* for *dulci*, *principio* for *præsepio*, and at least according to one edition *victorie* for *veritie*. The German original also enables us to supply the missing line in the last stanza of the fourth of these hymns, and two lines in the last stanza of the metrical version of the Creed.

song of thanksgiving to God for once more spreading among men the knowledge of His Word, a pretty close rendering of a German hymn attributed to Speratus, and specially admired by Luther; also by a metrical version of the "Song of Simeon," which is in the same stanza as that of Luther, and is probably a free rendering of it, or of one of the other German versions modelled on it. After these comes a brief hymn entitled "Ane Sang of the Resurrection," which is the only one in the first part of the book of which I think myself warranted to say with confidence that it is more immediately derived from the Latin than the German. It more closely resembles a Latin hymn attributed to Herman Bonn, and found in the Magdeburg hymn-book of 1542, than any of the German versions of it that have come under my notice.

The first part of the Scotch book then winds up with a number of more miscellaneous pieces, ballads, carols, graces, and a few hymns. They may probably have been a later addition, as they contain another cycle of Christmas and Easter hymns, and of graces before and after meat. I have as yet succeeded in tracing only four or five of them to German sources, but I am not without hope that some more patient investigator may be able to identify several of the others with German or Latin originals, and that the publications of the Early English Text Society may yet show that some others are of English origin.

The second part of the 'Compendious Book' is, as already mentioned, avowedly a translation, and mainly from German sources. It consists chiefly of a selection of psalms—viz., 2, 12, 13, 15, 23, 33, 37, 64, 73, 83, 91, 114,

115, 124, 130, 137, 145, 79, 51, 128, 67, 31¹—and several hymns not inferior in pathos and poetical merit to any of those contained in the former part, and most of which are also translations from the German. After this selection of psalms and hymns there follows what may be termed a third part, containing religious adaptations of profane or secular songs, and also a number of ballads exposing in a very pithy and effective manner the sad corruptions and abuses tolerated in the old Church. To a considerable extent they are free from the coarseness which characterises several of the poems of Sir David Lyndsay and Sempill, and from the fierce revengeful spirit, evinced by several of the English poets of the same era, and which the hardships inflicted on the author and his friends would to some extent have palliated. The idea of some even of these ballads may have been suggested by German *Volkslieder* on the same subjects, but the most of them are no doubt original, or rather a grotesque spiritualising of Scottish secular songs now all but forgotten. It is not at all unlikely that some of them at first made their appearance as broadsheets, and had a partial circulation in that form before obtaining a place in the ‘Compendious Book.’ This portion of it is undoubtedly a miscellany or collection of the poems of different unknown authors, even if the previous parts of it are to be regarded as almost entirely the work of John Wedderburn and his brothers. Certainly there ought to have been prefixed to it some such rubric as that put before the

¹ That is, numbering them as in the Hebrew and English Psalters. Some have actually the numbers of the Vulgate, some others are obviously wrongly numbered. Psalm lxxix. in B, C, D bears the number lxxvii., and it has the same number in one of the Strassburg Psalters.

concluding portion of an old Constance hymn-book: "Hienach folgen die Geistlichen gesänge und Christlichen lieder, deren etliche in den Kirchen, vor oder nach den predigen; etliche aber allein, *ausserhalb*, und statt der üppigen und schändlichen wäلتliedern gesungen werden."¹

The German Psalter of 1537, previously referred to, contains among the appended *Lieder* "ein gespräch des sünders und Christi," which possibly supplied the Wedderburns with the materials for spiritualising the old song "Quho is at my windo? who? who?" Possibly even the idea of the famous ballad "The Paip, that pagane full of pryde," may have been taken from the German "Nun treiben wir den Pabst heraus"; but undoubtedly this ballad must be regarded as in the main original. An old music-book still preserved in the British Museum, and bearing the date 1530, shows that the Roman Catholics in Britain had preceded Wedderburn in spiritualising the plaintive old ballad "My love morneth for me, my love morneth for me"; and it is an unquestionable fact that a similar practice had obtained among adherents of the old Church, in Germany as well as in Britain, even earlier than the sixteenth century. Nor is evidence wanting that the defendants of the old Church also retaliated on those of the new by satires, which also were adaptations of older popular ballads and set to popular tunes.

¹ This statement is repeated in the preface to many of the German Hymnals, as in kindred words on the title-page and preface of Coverdale's and Wedderburn's books, and indeed on the title-page of the old English metrical Psalter. The authors intended not only to provide the materials for praise in the sanctuary, but also pure and healthy songs to supersede those of a debasing kind, which had previously been common in the houses of the people,—“to enlist popular airs on the side of religion,” by transforming “ballads which had descended to that age from times ruder and coarser than itself.”

The metrical versions of the Psalms contained in the second part of the 'Compendious Book,' which some of our historians have pronounced to be so far superior to the rest of its contents, I must confess appear to me in point of poetic merit less happy than either the hymns or the satirical ballads. No doubt there are stanzas which deserve to live, even in them, particularly in the 23d, 124th, and the 130th; but the majority of them would never, without the hymns and ballads which accompany them, have taken such a hold on the minds of our forefathers. In fact almost the only one which seems to have taken a deep hold on their minds, and the tune and even several of the words of which were retained in Knox's Psalter, is the paraphrase, and (if one might safely settle such a point on internal grounds without an interminable search through the whole of the old German metrical Psalms he would be disposed to add) the, in great measure, original paraphrase, of Psalm lxxxiii.¹ With considerable poetic power and copiousness of imagery, it exhibits a less restrained and chastened mood of spirit than almost any even of the satirical ballads, though one can easily understand how it should have gone to the hearts of men who

¹ No German metrical version of this Psalm is inserted either in Wackernagel's 'Kirchenlied' of 1841 or in the more copious one of 1870; but such versions are found in the Zürich and Strassburg Psalters, and that of Burcard Waldis in 1537 is somewhat similar in tone to the Scottish one, but more restrained. Psalm lxxix. is the favourite one with the German hymn-writers, when they wish to give as unrestrained expression to their feelings regarding the old church and its clergy as the Scottish poet does in his version of Psalm lxxxiii. The version of this Psalm in Knox's Psalm-book is arranged in stanzas of 14 lines, but in the Bannatyne MS. the same version is, like the one in this book, arranged in stanzas of 7 lines. It was no doubt sung to the old tune. The new version is attributed to John Craig, who in early life had been repeatedly suspected of heresy and imprisoned both in Scotland and Rome, and for several years was Knox's colleague in the ministry in Edinburgh, and afterwards minister to the royal household.

believed, as firmly as they believed their own existence, that the cause for which they dared and suffered so much was the cause of God and truth, and that opponents strove to crush the cause, as well as those who, maugre all threats of imprisonment, exile, and martyrdom, continued resolutely to uphold it.

The hymns in the first part of the 'Compendious Book' are mostly, as already stated, translations, but translations of many of the finest hymns which the Reformation gave to the Church of Christ, whose winning lifelike exhibition of its principles largely prepared the way for the acceptance of them, even where Luther's name was hated, till opponents sadly confessed that the whole country was singing itself into the Lutheran heresy.¹ They are, in the main, translations executed with spirit, freedom, and true poetic taste, into the purest Scottish dialect of the time, and they had the highest testimony borne to their genuine worth by the fact that, without any formal ecclesiastical sanction, they found their way to the homes and to the hearts of the Scottish people, and continued to be committed to memory, circulated, and sung long after the circumstances which originally called them forth had passed away; while the more homely translations of several of these hymns into Northern English, by good Bishop Coverdale, appear to have had a very limited circulation and influence among the English people.

The doctrinal teaching which pervades these transla-

¹ An eyewitness of the Reformation says of the second hymn of Luther, pronounced by Bunsen fundamentally the first: "Who doubts that many hundred Christians have been brought to the true faith by this one hymn alone, who before, perchance, could not so much as bear to hear Luther's name."—Winkworth.

tions from the German is on the whole wonderfully like to (f) *Doctrinal teaching of Book.* that which, from the first, has prevailed in the Reformed Church of Scotland. The only way of salvation for the guilty, which it was the glory of the Reformation once more to bring into its merited prominence, is set forth with singular clearness and earnestness, and is returned to, in almost every hymn, with a persistence which nothing but the author's hearty and loving acceptance of it can explain. Still on some minor points there are such differences as tend to show that the author had studied in the school of Wittemberg rather than in that of Geneva ; in other words, that his poems belong theologically to the earlier era of the Reformation. Dr Bonar in his 'Catechisms of the Reformation' is perhaps right in supposing that there is nothing very distinctively or narrowly Lutheran in the hymns concerning Baptism and the Lord's Supper, though they are unquestionably free translations of Luther's hymns on the same subject. But the Commandments, as already stated, are given in the Lutheran or Roman Catholic form ; and in the long paraphrase of Psalm li., some verses of which were sung by Wishart on the night of his apprehension, there occur expressions in regard to the general effects of baptism stronger than many Scottish Protestants would now use :—

“ Thow wusche me Lord quhen I was borne,
 From all my wickitnes ;
 Bot zit I did, throw sin, forlorne
 Of heuin the rychteousnes.
 Wesche me againe, and from thy horne
 Deliuer me in stres :
 To thy mercy with thé will I go.”

“ Bot zit the Lord omnipotent,
 My cairfull case did cure ;
 At Font quhen I was impotent,
 Fragile, vaine, vylde, and pure.
 Than helpit me that King Potent,
 In my misaenture.
 To thy mercy with thé will I go.”

Then a more distinct place of special honour is assigned to our Lord's mother than is now usual among Scottish Protestants, as where it is said in one of the finest of the ballads, after celebrating the praises of her divine Son, our only Lord and Saviour :—

“ Nixt him to lufe his Mother fair,
 With steidfast hart, for euer mair,
 Scho bure the byrth, fréd vs from cair.”

The same place, however, is assigned to her in an address which Calvin, as late as the year 1533, wrote for Nicholas Cop,¹ who was Rector of the University of Paris for that year ; but notwithstanding this, the address was so little to the mind of the auditors that both Calvin and Cop had to escape from Paris, and soon after from France. In another of the ballads the local descent of the Saviour's soul into hell, between His death and resurrection, is affirmed, and the doctrine that He then rescued a number of the spirits in prison, and at His ascension carried them in triumph with Him to heaven, is connected with a traditionary statement of their number apparently, but erroneously, based on Psalm lxviii. 17, which interpretation

¹ He asks his auditors to join him in praying, “ Christo optimo maximo, qui verus est et unus apud Patrem intercessor, ut fœcundo illo suo spiritu mentes nostras illustret . . . quod nos consequuturos spero, *si beatissimam virginem illo præconio longe omnium pulcherrimo salutaverimus.*” — Opera, vol. ix. p. 874, edition of Baum, Cünitz, and Reuss.

of that verse I do not remember to have met with elsewhere :—

“ Sanct Johne did tell, thow heryit hell,
And schew mercie.
Ane thousand scoir thow did restoir
To thy glorie.”

One or two slips as to Biblical facts are apparently made by the author, as when in the paraphrase of Psalm li. he speaks of Isaac as Abraham's *eldest* son; but the substitution of Mount Sinay for Mount Sion is a typographical error or corruption found only in the 1621 edition of the book. In the edition now reprinted the lines are :—

“ For God hes set a Captaine stark and wycht,
Christis ¹ awin Sone, God and man naturall,
On Mont Syon, to reule it Just and rycht.”

I have previously said that a number of the hymns, and even some of the psalms, though confessedly translations, are translations executed with considerable spirit, freedom, and poetic taste. A number of them contain figures and similes which are evidently the translator's own, and some of those which may be regarded as suggested by the original are treated in such a way as to show that the author was not a mere versifier like Coverdale, but a genuine poet, whose words were fitted to touch the hearts of his countrymen, to rouse them to deeds of daring, and sustain them even under hardship and severest persecution. This cannot be better exemplified than by subjoining the translations which both he and Coverdale have given of Psalm cxxiv. :—

¹ *Sic* for Christ [h]is, as in edition 1621.

(g) *Merits*
of Book.

WEDDERBURN.

Except the Lord with us had stand,
 Say furth Israell unfeinzeitlie,
 Had not the Lord bene our warrand,
 Quhen men rais in our contrarie,
 Thay had us all on live devorit,
 With Ire sa sharplie thay us schorit,
 Sa kendlit was thair crueltie.

For lyke the welterand wallis brym,¹
 Thay had ouerquhelmit us with mycht,
 Lyke burnis that in spait fast rin,
 Thay had ouerthrawin us with slycht.
 The bulrand stremis of thair pryde
 Had peirsit us throw bak and syde,
 And reft fra us our lyfe full rycht.

But loving to the Lord, allone,
 That gaif us nocht to be their pray,
 To be rent with thair teith anone,
 Bot hes us fréd full well thame fray,
 Lyke to ane bird taine in ane net,
 The quhilk the foular for her set
 Sa is our lyfe weill win away.

The net is brokin in peces small,
 And we are savit fra thair schame,
 Our hope was ay, and ever sall
 Be in the Lord, and in His name,
 The quhilk hes creat hevin sa hie,
 And maid the eird sa mervellouslie,
 And all the ferleis of the same.

How much more pithily and forcibly the Scottish poet can express himself may be seen by the versions which both he and Coverdale have given of Psalm cxxxvii., and especially of its last verse:—

WEDDERBURN.

And blissit is that Campione
 Sall serue thé, as thow seruit vs.
 And he that sall thy biarnis² plaig,
 And rasche thair harnis aganis a craig,
 Is happy and full glorious.

COVERDALE.

Except the Lord had been with us,
 Now may Israel say boldly ;
 Except the Lorde had been with us,
 When men rose up against us fiercely ;
 They had devoured us quyeck doubtlesse,
 And had overwounne us comfortlesse
 They were so wroth at us truly.

The waves of waters had wrapped us in ;
 Our soul had gone under the floode.
 The deep waters of these proud men
 Had ronne our soules over, where they
 stoode.

The Lord be prayesd every houre,
 That wold not suffer them us to devoure,
 Nor in their teeth to sucke our bloode.

Our soule is delyvered from their power,
 They cannot have that they have
 sought,

As the byrde from the snare of the fouler,
 So are we from their dangers brought.

The snare is broken and we are free ;
 Our helpe is in the Lorde's name truly,
 Which hath made heavin and earth of
 nought.

COVERDALE.

Truly blessed shall be that man,
 Which, even as thou hast deserved,
 Shall reward thé with soch kyndnesse,
 As thou hast showed to us gyltlesse,
 Which never had offended thé ;
 Blessed shall he be that for the nones
 Shall throwe thy chylidren agaynst the
 stones.

¹ "The suelland vallis of the brym seye."—Complaynt of Scotland.

² *Sic* for bairnis.

The word in this verse which is generally rendered "stones" in English versions of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, might be more literally rendered, as in the German and Vulgate and the recent Revised English version,¹ "stone" or "rock," for which Wedderburn, it will be observed in this passage, employs the Scotch word "craig." The same word is employed by him as the equivalent of the same original term in Psalm cxiv., where verses 6, 7, and 8 are thus rendered:—

"Quhat gart zow montanis lyke rammis stert & stend?
And ze hillis lyke lambis loup and bend?
It was the Lordis feir that maid sic reird,
And Jacobis God perturbit all the eird.
For God turnit the craig in fresche reueur,
The barrane bra in fontane watter cleir."

This, and the version given just before of Psalm cxxiv., seem to show that the poet had been no inattentive observer of the scenery of the Highland districts of his native county, with their bare braes and craigs, their mountain burns and rocky streams, often "bulrand" and hurrying on with sudden "spaits," and occasionally dashing wildly over a linn, to which last he clearly alludes in his translation of Psalm lxxix., though there is no corresponding allusion in the German version, which in the main he follows:—

"And as watter, [that] fast rinnis ouer ane lin,
Dois not returne againe to the awin place.
Sa thow, gude Lord, put our sin from thy face."

One other simile must not be omitted in this place. It is a peculiarly Scottish one, that of putting to the horn or declaring rebels those who fled from justice, and was often put in practice against the early Reformers, who

¹ Blessed is he who taketh and dasheth thy little ones "against the rock."
Delitzsch on the Psalm.

when summoned fled from trial, and in consequence were put out of the protection of the law and liable to be slain with impunity.¹ It is referred to in one of the verses quoted from the translation of Psalm li., and again in the following lines from one of the hymns on the birth of Christ :—

“For ye war all at Goddis horn,
This Babe, to yow that now is borne,
Sall mak yow saif and for yow die,
And yow restoir to libertie.”

I cannot refrain from giving one more illustration of the forcible and pithy manner in which this old Scottish poet has translated a passage which has not generally been so happily rendered by subsequent versifiers of the Psalms. It is from Psalm cxv., which, however, the ‘Compendious Book,’ following in this respect the Vulgate, makes a part of the preceding psalm instead of a separate composition :—

“Our God forsuith Ringis in heuin full hie,
And quhat him listis or lykis, workis he.
Thir Imagis of stock, stane, gilt with gold,
Ar maid be men, and syne for money sold :
Thay haif a mouth can nouthur say nor sing,
Thair eine ar blind, and thay can sé nathing,
Thay can not heir, thocht men do cry and zell,
Thair nois thirlis can nouthur sauer nor smell ;
Thay haif handis can nouthur feill nor grope,
Thair fundyit feit can nouthur gang nor loupe ;
Thay can pronounce na voce furth of thair throtis,
Thay ar ouergane with mouswobis and moitis.”

¹ Hence the attempt on Wishart’s life in Dundee, and also the reason why he and even Knox for a time in their journeys through the country were accompanied by followers who might defend them, if attacked, as Wishart had been on that occasion. That was the strongest practical proof these followers could give that they were determined to make common cause with their spiritual guides, if any similar attempt was made on their lives.

Exception has been taken in former times, and still more in our own, to the tone and contents of the ballads in the 'Compendious Book,' and a sort of mingled contempt and pity has been expressed for those who could find pleasure in them or encourage the repeated publication of them. The writers who have given expression to such opinions forget that a similar adaptation of the tunes, and even to some extent of the words, of secular songs was made by the old Church in the two previous centuries,¹ as well as by the new in the sixteenth; and that even in a much later age John Wesley, of whose deep piety and genuine poetic taste no question can be raised, seemed to vindicate the lawfulness of the practice, and even complain that so much of the best music we had should be given up to the service of the devil. In still more recent times

(h) *Objections taken to it.*

¹ "In the fourteenth century appeared the device which played so large a part in the production of the Reformation hymns—that of adapting secular tunes to sacred poems, and also making religious paraphrases of secular ditties. Praises of love, of outdoor sport, even of wine, by a few simple alterations were made to express devotional sentiments. A good illustration of this practice is the recasting of the favourite folk-song 'Den liebsten Bulen den ich han' into 'Den liebsten Herren den ich han.' Much more common, however, was the transfer of melodies from profane poems to sacred. The associations of these tunes were not always of the most edifying kind, and some of them were so identified with unsanctified ideas that the strictest theologians protested against them, and some were weeded out. In course of time the old secular associations were forgotten, and few devout Germans are now reminded that some of the grand melodies in which faith and hope find such appropriate utterance are variations of old love songs and drinking songs."—Professor Dickinson in 'North American Review,' October 1895. In the preface to the reprint of the 'Niederländische Geistliche Lieder des XV Iahrhundert,' the author states that many of them attained an extensive circulation among the common people and were in the truest sense people's songs, either being composed on the same model as their secular songs, or being adaptations to religious uses. They belonged, however, he adds, only to the sphere of household devotion, expressing the longing of the pious soul for union with its heavenly Bridegroom, or celebrating the birth of our Lord, or the praises of his virgin-mother and of the saints. For further statements on this subject see Appendix No. III.

Bishop Heber did not disdain to set some of his hymns to secular tunes. His beautiful Epiphany hymn, "Brightest and best of the sons of the morning," his latest biographer has just told us, was composed to the tune of the Scottish song "Here awa', there awa', wanderin' Willie," picked up by him during his visit to Sir Walter Scott. I myself remember to have heard one of the most solemn of our paraphrases sung in a church, in a not unlearned city, to the tune "Ye banks and braes o' bonnie Doon." Towards the end of last century, among the handloom weavers in the villages of the Mearns and Forfarshire who came under the influence of the "Berean" revival, there was no more favourite hymn than the one with the refrain—

"He's up high in the sky
That's waitin' on me,"

a spiritualising of the well-known ballad—

"Low down amang the broom,
He's waitin' on me."

It is a well-known fact that the tunes of many of the finest German hymns, in so far as they were not founded on those of the old Latin hymns, were taken from secular songs, the very names of several of which would but for this have been now forgotten. Not unfrequently with the melody the words were also partially appropriated, and, notwithstanding all that has been said in condemnation of this practice of turning to a better use fine secular tunes, it may be doubted whether, from the countenance it has received from hymn-writers of acknowledged eminence in various ages, any other criterion can yet be laid down on the subject than that such appropriations are not to be made rashly nor indiscriminately, nor further than the

general feeling of the age and the country is prepared to acquiesce in them. But whatever may be thought of this practice, it will not at least be denied that it was far more venial and indicative of a higher, more earnest, and correct taste than the practice which was occasionally followed in the times preceding the Reformation of adapting the tunes of several of the Church hymns to secular, sometimes to very profane songs, and singing these at certain frolicsome seasons under the leadership of an Abbot of Unreason even in the house of God, as well as in their households and at social merry-makings. To those who take exception to the occasional coarseness of the ballads, it may perhaps be sufficient to reply that no one ought to blame them too severely in these respects who does not know something of the polluting character of those they were intended to supersede, and which they did to a large extent succeed in superseding; and no one who does know those others will fail to own that a great moral triumph was secured when they were superseded by others so much more free from what was debasing. The passage even from those of them which are not the production of Wedderburn but a somewhat later addition to his book is almost as from darkness to light, from filth and ribaldry to comparative modesty and refinement, just as are many of Burns's modifications of old Scottish songs. In fact one has only cursorily to compare them with the poems of Dunbar, the plays of Sir David Lyndsay acted before the noble lords and ladies of the Court of Scotland, or with the ballads of Robert Sempill, to discover how much in advance, in that era, were the earnest men who had lived in the atmosphere of Wittemberg in point of true refinement and purity. True, there are stanzas in them, just as there

are paragraphs in Knox's History, which betray the coarseness of the olden time, and they do speak of the old Church and its ministers in a style very different from that which would now be used; but we speak in cool blood, and have to do with men of far higher culture and morality, while the authors of these ballads wrote them in the very crisis of a life-and-death struggle between truth and error, between purity and gross debauchery,¹ which surely though slowly was paving the way for the overthrow of the old Church. They wrote them to support and cheer those who were contending, even unto bonds, imprisonment, and death, for the simplicity and purity which the Christian religion imperatively demands of its professors, and especially of its ministers. If their rude songs and homely, earnest, if biting² words commended themselves to the hearts of such men, and encouraged them to continue the lengthened and often disheartening

¹ We do not need to call in Knox, or Lindsay, or the satirists in evidence of this humbling fact. The testimony of their own Councils, of the Acts of Parliament, and of some of their best men, as Principal Hay in his congratulatory address to Cardinal Betoun, and Ninian Winzet in the sad appeals and confessions inserted in his 'Tractates,' as well as that of impartial modern historians like Tytler and Dr Joseph Robertson, is more than sufficient to establish it beyond contradiction. The testimony of Conæus, who died when about to be raised to the purple, covers almost all that Alesius and Knox have averred: "In multorum sacerdotum ædibus scortum publicum . . . nec a sacrilego quorundam luxu tutus erat matronarum honos aut virginalis pudor." More notable still is the representation given in the "Memoire" addressed to the Pope by Queen Mary and the Dauphin, evidently at the instance of Mary of Guise, in which the spread of heresy is expressly attributed to the ignorance and immorality of the clergy. See Appendix B., vol. ii., of Mr Hume Brown's recent biography of Knox. But it must never be forgotten there were still among the inferior clergy many earnest and upright men, who longed for the reformation of such scandals, and that it was from this class that not a few of the martyrs and confessors between 1528 and 1558 sprung, and that not a few of the lesser barons were hardly less earnest and steadfast in the cause.

² It may be said of their satires, as of the French, "*celles-ci trop acérées*"; but cruel oppression may embitter even the meek and quiet in the land.

warfare with ignorance and immorality, till their cause was crowned with victory, their authors did a signal service to their country, which deserves to be gratefully remembered and ungrudgingly acknowledged.¹ Many of their compositions are as truly confessors' and martyrs' utterances as any of those of the Covenanters in the succeeding century. A short specimen or two of their authors' yearning tenderness towards their deluded fellow-countrymen, and of their earnest efforts, even for the reformation of those priests whom they felt it so incumbent on them to denounce, may not be out of place in this connection. The first I give is from one of the ballads which seems to be an imitation of a Swiss or French Huguenot song,² which was also imitated in German and Swedish :—

“ Preistis, Christ beleue,
And onlie traist in to his blude,
And nocht in to zour warkis gude,
As plainlie Paule can preue.

Preistis, leirne to preiche,
And put away zour Ignorance,
Pryse onlie God, his word auance,
And Christis peple teiche.

.

Preistis, sober be,
And fecht not, nouthier boist, nor schoir,
Misreule the realm and court no moir,
And to zour Kirkis flé.

¹ We cannot make these songs our own, as they then did. “But they are stern and imposing monuments, more durable than brass, and upon them, if we have eyes to see, are carved memorials of great souls and a great age.”

² It first appeared in the ‘Chansons Nouvelles’ printed by Pierre de Vingle about 1533, and has been reprinted in the ‘Chansonnier Huguenot,’ Paris, 1871. See notes to the above “ballate” in the notes appended to this reprint.

Preistis, mend zour lyfe,
 And leif zour foule Sensualitie,
 And vylde stinkand chaistitie,
 And ilk ane wed ane wyfe."

The other specimen I give is in the main a translation of a German hymn, but it is a translation which breathes to the full as kindly and compassionate a spirit towards the adherents of the old Church as the original, and certainly a more kindly one than the English translation. The Scottish poet has been even more successful with the double rhyme in the alternate lines than the author of the original :—

"O Herre *Gott*, dein göttlich *wort*,
 Ist lang verdunkelt blieben,
 Bis durch dein *gnad* uns ist *gesagt*,
 Was Paulus hat geschrieben."

SCOTTISH VERSION.

"Lord God thy *face*, and word of *grace*,
 Hes lang bene hid be craft of men,
 Quhill at the *last*, the nycht is *past*,
 And we full weill thair faset ken :
 We knaw perfyte, the halie writ,
 Thairfoir be gloir and pryse to thé :
 Quhilk did vs geue, this tyme to leue,
 Thy word trew preichit for to sé.

"Our bairnis now, weill knawis how
 To wirschip God with seruice trew,
 Quhilk mony zeir, our Fatheris deir,
 Allace ! thairfoir, full far misknew,
 Zit God did feid his chosin indeid,
 As Noy, and Lot, and mony mo,
 And had respect to his elect,
 How euer the blind warld did go."

ENGLISH VERSION.

"O heavenly *Lorde*, thy godly *worde*
 Hath longe bene kepte alwaye from us :
 But thorow thy *grace* now in oure *dayes*
 Thow hast shewed thé so plenteous,
 That very well we can now tell,
 What thy apostles have written al ;
 And now we se thy worde opely
 Hath geuen anthychrist a great fall.

"It is so cleare, as we may heare,
 No man by ryght can it deny,
 That many a yeare thy people deare
 Have bene begyled perlously
 With men spirituall, as we them call,
 But not of thy Spirite truly ;
 For more carnall are none at all,
 Than many of these spirites be."

Its relation to Bp. Coverdale's Book.

The English version of the above hymn was composed by good Bishop Coverdale, and is contained in his "Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes,"¹ reprinted

¹ 'Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes drawn out of the holy Scripture, for the conforte and consolacyon of such as love to rejoyce in God and his

among his other works by the Parker Society, and edited by Dr Pearson. This treatise bears *in gremio* even less acknowledgment than the Scottish 'Compendious Book' of its being a translation, though it is more exclusively so; and though, in the biographical notice of the author prefixed to the volume, the editor has inserted a list of Coverdale's works, given by his contemporary Bishop Bale, from which it appears that he translated 'Cantiones Wittenbergensium,' lib. i.; yet, in the note which is prefixed to this particular treatise, he gives no hint that these psalms and songs were translations from the German—were, in fact, the *Cantiones* referred to by Bale. Such, however, is the undoubted fact with respect to them, and the arrangement and contents of the treatise correspond to a considerable extent with the Wittemberg hymn-books, or with those of the Upper Palatinate (where, at Bergzabern, Coverdale, during the years of his second exile, was minister or schoolmaster); while the Scottish translation corresponds more nearly with the German hymn-books issued at Magdeburg or Strassburg. Still the two treatises have a number of hymns in common, the comparison of which affords a satisfactory means of determining the

worde.' Then, after quotation of Psalm cxlvii. 1, Colos. iii. 16, James v. 13, come the following lines:—

TO THE BOKE.

"Go lytle boke, get thé acquaintaunce
Among the lovers of God's worde,
Geve them occasyon the same to auaunce,
And to make theyr songes of the Lorde,
That they may thrust under the borde
All other ballettes of fylthynes,
And that we all with one accorde
May geve ensample of godlynes.

"Go lytle boke among mens chyl dren,
And get thé to theyr companye,
Teach them to synge the commaundementes
ten,
And other ballettes of God's glorie.
Be not ashamed, I warande thé,
Though thou be rude in worde and ryme,
Thou shalt to youth some occasion be,
In godly sportes to passe theyr tyme."

Neither date nor place of printing appear on the title-page, nor printer's name, but on the last leaf are the words, "Imprynted by me Iohan Gough.
Cum privilegio regali."

merits of the respective translations, and of explaining why the one book should have come to exercise a great influence in forwarding the Reformation, and the other should have had very little; why the one should have been often reprinted, and the other never until our own day. But what is still more remarkable is that four hymns, exactly or almost exactly alike, save so far as the English and Scottish dialects differ, make their appearance in both collections; and it is a matter of much difficulty to determine whether one of the translators had borrowed these from the other or both had got them from a common source, now unknown. In favour of the claim of Coverdale to be the original translator are the averments that he was the older man, and that his treatise had been published by the year 1539, and that there is no reason to suppose that the Scottish collection in its most rudimentary form was published so early. In favour of the opinion that the Scottish version is the original are the averments that these four hymns are superior to most of the others translated by Coverdale, and that the Scottish poet is admitted to have been the better poet, in fact the only poet of the two, for Coverdale hardly ever rises above the level of the mere versifier. Some may be disposed to add the further averment, that several of the minor changes made on these hymns seem to be more easily accounted for on the supposition that the Scottish was the earlier, while others aver exactly the opposite. But however that may be, there can be no question that the one must have borrowed from the other, or both have borrowed from a common pre-existing translation. Even if Coverdale's collection had been published by the year 1539, it is just possible that he had been brought into contact

with Wedderburn's intimate friends Alesius and Macchabæus before that date. Alesius, like Coverdale, was a *protégé* of Cromwell, at that time Henry VIII.'s Vicar-General, and was employed by him in forwarding the cause of the Reformation in England. Macchabæus was for some years after his flight from Scotland settled in the south of England, having been promoted by Bishop Shaxton to a canonry in the Cathedral of Salisbury and to the rectory of Bishopstowe, and under the patronage of Cromwell was helping forward the cause of the Reformation in that neighbourhood so far as Henry at that time countenanced it. Coverdale for a time was similarly employed in a neighbouring county, and then, or shortly after, became brother-in-law to Macchabæus. Even, therefore, if there were foundation for the averment that the first edition of Coverdale's hymns was published by 1539, and that these four hymns were contained in it, it is not beyond the range of possibility that he may have got them through one of these Scotsmen,¹ and that their thoughts or John Wedderburn's, as well as those of his elder brother, may have been turned towards the work of translation before their exile in 1539-40. Coverdale's 'Psalms and Spiritual Songs' are admitted to bear no date, and contain a translation of at least one hymn² which is not known to have appeared in High German hymn-books till the years 1539-40. Dr Cotton's only warrant for asserting that the

¹ Both were well up in German. Macchabæus had in early life studied at Cologne, Alesius at Wittemberg during 1533-34; John W. may also, like his brothers, have been abroad before 1539.

² This is the hymn, "Allein Gott in der höh' sei Ehr," ascribed to Decius or Hovesch. The latter year was that named by Wackernagel in his 'Deutsches Kirchenlied' of 1841, but in his 'Deutsches Kirchenlied' of 1870, vol. iii. p. 567, he intimates that it had since been found in a Leipzig Hymn-book of 1539. The first part of this Hymn-book is derived from a Wittemberg one of 1535

book had been published before 1539 was that it was found included in a list of prohibited books given under that year in the first edition of Foxe's 'Acts and Monuments.' This list, however, was not inserted in the second and several subsequent editions of Foxe's book, and the scholarly and accurate editor who in our own time has done so much to correct its mistakes, states explicitly that the list of prohibited books in question was not issued till 1546, and that this can still be ascertained from Bishop Bonner's register, which, under that year, contains both the Act of Prohibition and the list of prohibited books.¹ Long before that date Coverdale, like his Scottish brother-in-law, had had to betake himself to Germany, and could hardly have failed to meet with the other Scottish exiles, Alesius, Fyffe, and Wedderburn, who were then there. Mr Laing admits that these facts are as I have given them, and that Dr Cotton and the recent editor of Coverdale seem to have made a mistake in asserting, merely on the strength of the above list, that his hymns were published by 1539. He is inclined, however, to agree with them in opinion that the hymns were published by 1539 or 1540. This he does on the grounds, that in 1540 he had to escape from

('Bibliographie,' 1855, p. 780), and the latter part contains additional hymns, and among others this one, and also its melody, for the first time. In this later work of 1870 (vol. iii. pp. 565, 566) he gives, for the first time, the earlier Low-German text, which had come to light some years before by the reprinting of a Hymn-book of 1526 (?), and the Riga and Rostock Hymn-books of 1531. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that these Low-German Hymn-books had any circulation in the Upper Palatinate where, in much penury, Coverdale spent the greater part of his years of exile, nor that such a variety of hymn-books were accessible to him as may now easily be gathered together. Besides, it is expressly stated by his contemporary, Bale, that it was the 'Cantiones Wittenbergensium,' and by another 'Cantiones usuales Wittenbergensium,' which he translated and published.

¹ Townsend's edition of Foxe's 'Acts and Monuments of the Church,' vol. v. pp. 565-568, also pp. 838, 839.

England and pass eight years in exile, and that Gough, who published the book, is not known to have published any works after the year 1543. To this it may be replied, first, that this last only necessitates the publication of the book in 1543; and that the supposition even of that date would still allow ample time for intercourse between him and his brother-in-law and Alesius and Wedderburn, the other Scottish exiles at Wittemberg. For even when, shortly afterwards, he published his account of the services of the Reformed Danish Church, Coverdale makes no reference to his hymns; though, had they been published at that time, we might have expected him to make some such reference to his first hymn to the Holy Spirit and his metrical versions of the Lord's Prayer, when mentioning the congregation's singing the *Veni Sancte Spiritus*,¹ or a similar hymn in their mother tongue, before the sermon, and of the *Paternoster* or a translation of it at an earlier stage of the service, just as he makes reference to the Confession of sin he had humbly offered to the King's most honourable Council in 1539, as being "such or like words" with that which the Danish priest exhorted his congregation to make.² What further I have to say in regard to

¹ The editor of the Parker Society's edition of his works has confounded this hymn,

"Veni, Sancte Spiritus, et emitte cœlitus
Lucis tuæ radium,"

with the still more famous one—

"Veni, Creator Spiritus, mentes tuorum visita,
Imple superna gratiâ quæ tu creasti pectora."

² "First, for the most part they sing the *Paternoster* in their mother tongue, and then the Psalms, sometimes more, sometimes fewer. . . . And to the intent that their hearts may be opened to the true understanding of the gospel which he is about to preach unto them, he exhorteth them to call for help to the Holy Ghost. Then they sing with one voice unto the Holy Ghost this song, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, &c., or such another like it, in their mother tongue." At the close of the sermon "he requireth them to confess and acknowledge their

Coverdale and his hymns I deem it better to remit to Appendix IV. to this Introduction.

The ballad
"Say-weill
and Do-
weill."

In my lecture on the Wedderburns in 1867, I adduced in proof of the high qualities of their 'Work' another of the poems, which I may entitle "Say weill and do weill," and I said that if there were no other in the book (and there were many others in it evincing earnest moral purpose, genuine attachment to Christ and His teaching, and firm resolve to venture all in the maintenance and profession of it), that one would have gone far to secure its recognition in those or any days. Dean Stanley in 1872 said of it, that "it expresses with singular felicity and clear discrimination the true proportion between profession and practice, between doctrine and character, between good words and good works."¹

I had found no reason in 1867 to doubt either that it was the work of John Wedderburn, or that it was an original composition, and not, like so many of the others, a translation or adaptation of a poem made by another; and I expressed a fond hope that it would not be found hereafter to be so. Some years after, however, when examining the volumes published by the Percy Society, I came in vol. xiii. on some ballads, conjectured to have been composed by Bishop Cox² of Ely and never before to have been published. They are contained in a manuscript pre-

sins unto God with him, every man in his own conscience, and to say such or like words in his heart as I have plurally expressed in the general confession, that I humbly offered to the King's most honourable Council for the edifying *anno* 1539."—*Fruitful Lessons, &c.*, pp. 471, 472.

¹ Addresses and Sermons delivered at St Andrews, pp. 186, 187.

² Cox had been tutor to Edward VI., next Dean of Westminster, and afterwards Bishop of Ely. From 1555 to 1558 he was in Frankfort with the English and Scottish exiles, and translated Luther's metrical version of the Lord's Prayer, which, though he had dealt harshly with Knox at Frankfort, appeared in the Psalters long used in Scotland, as well as in England.

sented to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by his son, as "conteyninge some fragmentes of that excellent man." The editor, however, says "that it is doubtful whether all the contents of the manuscript can rightly be attributed to Dr Richard Cox as the genuine author, notwithstanding the note on its first page appended by his son Roger Cox ; for we find in it two other specimens of English verse, which are certainly not his, being inserted among the published poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt." The editor further says that "the ballads are without any signature whatever," while even the signature C. is attached to one of those he has traced to Wyatt. Of course it would have been an almost unprecedented occurrence that, if the poem were not really of Scottish origin, it should have been published and circulated in Scotland for nearly three centuries before it was published in England from the manuscript of its author. Still I confess it rather staggered me when I found that the poem had prefixed to it the refrain—

"Say-well and do-well, they are things twayne ;
Thryse happy is he in whom bothe raygne,"

which is wanting in the 'Gude and Godlie Ballates.' I remembered, however, that there was also a copy of it in the Bannatyne MS., and when I had an opportunity of consulting it, I found that it had the refrain, though not prefixed but only appended—

"Say weill and do weill ar thingis twane ;
Thryss happy is he, quhom in thay do remane."

There are considerable variations between the English and Scottish texts, and smaller variations between the two Scottish texts. Both of these contain one verse more than is found in the English text. This last is evidently the

more corrupt, or the more carelessly copied in the Cox MS., having in the first stanza "*noth* furth spryng," instead of "*doth* furth spryng," in the fourth "*ioly there* make" instead of "*ioly chere* make," and probably also in the eighth "*hundred store*" instead of "*hundred score*." But on the other hand it has preserved two readings preferable to those found in the 'Compendious Book,' and in both is at one with the Bannatyne copy—viz., in stanza sixth, where it reads "say well hath frends *but* here and there," and in stanza eighth, where it reads "with *monye* is quite downcast," and the Bannatyne reads "with *money* is doun quyte kast"; whereas in the one case the text in this book in its several editions is "*baith* heir and thair," and in the other "with *mony*," i.e. many—money having uniformly the spelling it has at the present day, as on pp. 186, 194.

I do not venture to determine whether the poem was originally composed in the English or the Scottish dialect, both because I am now more fully satisfied than in 1867 that the third or last part of the 'Compendious Book' is decidedly of a miscellaneous character, and that a number of the satirical ballads are by other authors than the Wedderburns, and in all probability had been circulated as broadsheets before they were added to the 'Book.' Possibly "Say weill and do weill" is of earlier origin than the sixteenth century, and may have come from some one acquainted with Langland's 'Piers Ploughman's Vision,' in which both characters are introduced, though not so prominently as the three Do well, Do bet, and Do best.

Another of the so-called Cox ballads is more certainly of Scottish origin, for its refrain is—

"Hold backe thy tonge at meat and meale;
Speake but few wordes, bestow them *well*,"

where the Scotch "weill" is unquestionably required by the rhyme; but that word not being current in England, a compromise is made, and the refrain at the end of the ballad is changed to—

"Hold backe thy tonge at meat and meale,
So shalt thow lyve and doo ryght *weale*."

The last piece in the volume, "Welcum, Fortoun," was proscribed by the General Assembly in 1568,¹ and in consequence had so completely disappeared that Mr Laing through a long life had searched for it in vain, till in the spring of 1868 I took over the old copy here reprinted to Edinburgh, and showed it to him and Mr Hill Burton at the Messrs Blackwood's. Some will have it that the ballad is one of true and honourable love, as Dr M'Crie² of Ayr, and a well-known lecturer on Scottish Psalmody and Sacred Music bearing the initials C. R. R.³ Others, like Mr Maxwell, who hold that it is the composition of Robert Wedderburn, vicar of Dundee, suppose it to be his profession of undying attachment to the mother of his two sons, whom, as a priest, he might cherish but could not wed;⁴ while still others suppose that the ballad, even as we have it here, is a purified form of an older and grosser one, just as in later times much of the filth of older ballads

The ballad
"Welcum,
Fortoun."

¹ Booke of Universal Kirk (Peterkin's edition), p. 100. Why, when characterising this one as they did, they should have passed over the much more openly offensive one, "Hay trix tryme go trix," it is not easy to comprehend. I have followed Lord Hailes in leaving out a few lines of it, which, to use the words of the editor of the 'Chansonniere Huguenot,' are "*trop libres*." The other, Mr Aldis Wright says, will be found by some "disappointingly decorous."

² Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland, p. 134.

³ Letter in 'North British Advertiser' of January 12, 1884. Its details are inaccurate.

⁴ Old Dundee prior to the Reformation, pp. 136, 137.

has been expurgated in the shape in which we now have them in Burns and some other poets. If it is the production of R. Wedderburn, it is difficult to avoid associating it with the ballad No. cclxxxi. in the Bannatyne MS. attributed to a Wedderburn and bearing the title "My Lufe was fals and ful of flattry," which would seem to show that, however warm and constant was his attachment to her, she proved fickle and insincere to him. One almost regrets to have disinterred it from its long entombment, as it rather mars his enjoyment of one of the finest hymns in the volume to know such was the original from which it sprung:—

"Welcum, Lord Christ, welcum, againe,
My ioy, my confort, and my blis,
That culd me saif from Hellis paine,
Bot onlie thow nane was, nor is.

"Was neuer nane to me mair kynde
Nor Christ; thairfoir I will him pryse,
Onlie with saule, body and mynde,
My hope and traist haill in him lies."

We cannot now "make these songs our own," not only for the reason suggested in note 1, p. lxxv, but also for the reason that the Scottish vernacular has long ceased to be used as the medium of religious instruction. We still cherish it as the medium of our most valued secular poetry. We not only tolerate it but cling to it as the medium of our most popular novels and tales, but its use in public religious services and teaching has long been obsolete. Our great Reformer may be said to have led the way in this, necessitated thereto by his long exile from his native land, and long use of the Southern forms of speech, both while employed in forwarding the cause of the Reforma-

tion in England, during the reign of Edward VI., and also while ministering to congregations of English exiles abroad, after the death of the good King Edward. The failure of the old Church to provide a Scottish version of the Scriptures,¹ and the almost entire dependence of the Protestants, during their prolonged struggle for recognition, on the translations of Tyndale and Coverdale, their subsequent adoption of the Genevan version, the Book of Common Order, and the metrical Psalter partly prepared by the exiles there, and then of King James's version, Rous's metrical Psalter, and the Westminster Catechisms, largely fostered it; the Union first of the crowns and then of the kingdoms virtually completed it, and it is now vain to hope for the resuscitation of the old Scottish dialect in the services of the sanctuary. Whether for good or ill, there can now in the religious sphere be *nulla vestigia retrorsum*. And there could hardly be a more conclusive proof of the strong hold which the new teaching acquired and maintained on the Scottish people than is afforded by the fact of their gradually abandoning their own much-loved vernacular in this highest sphere, and accepting a Bible and several other religious formularies in the dialect of their southern co-religionists, and making it more and more the vehicle of religious instruction both in church and schools.

In concluding this long Introduction I have only to return my most grateful acknowledgments to the friends who rallied to my help when health so nearly failed me—first, to the Rev. Dr Blair of Leighton Manse, Dun-

¹ A manuscript of a Scottish version of the Gospels, supposed to be derived from one of the English Wycliffite versions, has recently been brought to light, and may possibly have been known to the Lollards of Kyle.

blane, who transcribed the old volume for me and aided me in the revision of the proof-sheets, and is still to assist me in the transcription of the tunes of some of the hymns and ballads; next to Dr Gregor, secretary of the Society, for the valuable glossary and indices he has provided for the volume;¹ also to Mr Graves of the British Museum for many transcripts made as well as for facilities kindly granted me for consulting books at the Museum, and especially the British Museum and Britwell copies of the 'Compendious Buik'; to the Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, for access to the unique copy of Coverdale's book; to the Librarians of the Bodleian and of the Zürich, Basel, and Strassburg University Libraries, and to Professor Erichson of the Protestant Theological Seminary at Strassburg; to the Vice-Dean and Librarian of the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, for the ready access given me at all times to their copy of the 'Buik'; to the Rev. Walter Macleod for valuable excerpts from MS. volumes in the Register House; to the Rev. Dr Anderson; to the Librarian and Sub-librarian of the St Andrews University Library; and to D. Hay Fleming, Esq., for counsel and help on various occasions; and finally, since this Introduction was so far put in type, to Sir Thomas Thornton and A. H. Millar, Esq., Dundee, for access to or excerpts from the Burgh Records of Dundee; and still more to Alex. Wedderburn, Esq., for

¹ The sudden demise of this learned and valued secretary of the Scottish Text Society, before this last fruit of his ungrudging labours in its service had passed through the press, is to me, as to all its members, a matter of unfeigned and heartfelt sorrow. He was its founder and its mainspring, and its progress and success have been largely due to his unflagging zeal and whole-hearted service in its behalf.

his great kindness in putting at my disposal the proofs of the earlier part of his forthcoming volume on the history of the family—the fruit of a thorough examination of the charter chests of the family, the public Records and MS. Records still extant at Dundee.

ALEX. F. MITCHELL.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE SEVERAL EDITIONS.

The edition of the 'Compendious Buik' believed to have been published in 1567 is the earliest of which a copy is still extant. It is a small 8vo, printed in black letter, containing signatures A to P ii, and having the folios, not the pages, numbered up to 113. The "Tabill" of contents is not numbered. As already stated, it is now in the possession of the representatives of the late Patrick Anderson, Esq., who have most kindly allowed it to be used for this reprint, and to whom the best thanks of the Scottish Text Society are due. It unfortunately wants the title-page and the two succeeding folios,¹ the contents of which have in this reprint been supplied from the edition of 1578. But it has the rest of the text complete, and the "Tabill" of contents following the text, and a single folio printed in the same type as the text, apparently forming the title-page of an old Scottish metrical Psalter, and being the fourth of the half-sheet bearing the signatures P i, P ii. Some are of opinion that it was printed on this last folio simply to fill it up and to serve as an advertisement of a forthcoming Psalter of 1567. Others with greater probability maintain that the Psalter actually followed and was bound up with the 'Compendious Buik' of Godlie and Spirituall Songs, and that after the condemnation of the last of the Songs by the General Assembly of 1568 the two were separated, and that then the title-page forming the fourth folio of the last half-sheet of the former remained attached to it, and that a new title-page was provided for the Psalter. The title still remaining on this folio

¹ The first folio extant bears the signature A iiii. The contents of the missing folios are supplied from Mr Christie Miller's copy of the edition of 1578, and the Appendix of Ballads added in editions subsequent to the one here reprinted is taken from the same copy. The 'Kallender,' as already stated, is taken from the Psalter of 1565-66.

bears the date of 1567, and purports to be printed at Edinburgh by John Scot. From the Act of the Assembly, however, we can hardly doubt that Bassandyne was regarded by it as really responsible for the offence it condemned; and undoubtedly the printing of the volume is more distinct and much less blurred than that of Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism and the facsimiles of Scot's editions of Sir David Lyndsay's works given in Messrs Dickson and Edmond's 'Annals of Scottish Printing.' Scot's "printing irons and letters" were arrested by the magistrates of Edinburgh in 1562, when he was detected clandestinely printing Ninian Winzet's 'Last Blast of the Trompet,' and appear ultimately to have been made over to Bassandyne, though Messrs Dickson and Edmond seem to doubt if they were ever actually made use of by him in any of the works issued by him and having his name attached.

On the back of this title-page is an entry of some historical interest. Question has been raised in our own day whether the Doxology, or conclusion as it was termed, was sung in the Scottish Church from the Reformation onwards, or was introduced towards the end of the sixteenth century. The Rev. Neil Livingston, in his splendid edition of the Scottish Psalter of 1635 (pp. 4, 36, 37), inclines to the latter opinion. Some in our own day, founding on the testimony of Baillie in the seventeenth century and that of Ninian Winzet in the sixteenth, maintain the former. Perhaps the rubric on the back of the title-page of this early edition of the Psalter gives the true explanation, "*And gif ye pleis to singe this Gloria Patri.*" It was not enjoined but allowed, and may not have been in general use till 1595, when doxologies to suit all metres first appeared in the Scottish Psalm-book.

The edition of 1578, of which only one copy is at present known to be extant, was also a small 8vo in black letter, printed in Edinburgh by John Ros, having signatures A to N and pages 1 to 207, with Kalendar prefixed, the pages of which are not numbered. The outer half of the title-page, two leaves of the Kalendar, and last page of the "Tabill" of contents, are wanting;

but, like the editions of 1600 and 1621, it has five "Ballates" which, as already stated, do not appear in the earlier edition, and are altogether in a different position from augmentations made during the lifetime of the Wedderburns. It has the autograph and book-plate of Baron Iohne Maule, a former owner, and it is now in the possession of Mr Christie Miller of Craigentenny, in whose library at Britwell, Herts, are to be found so many rare books connected with the early literature of Scotland. It was reprinted by Mr David Laing, and I have to thank Mr Miller for his great kindness in allowing it to be brought up to the British Museum that I might have every facility for consulting it.

The edition of 1600, of which only one complete copy is now extant, is also a small 8vo in black letter, printed in Edinburgh by Robert Smith, with signatures from A to O. If leaves or pages were numbered, the numbers have disappeared; but the leaves have been neatly mounted and the text enclosed in red lines and the volume handsomely bound in blue morocco. It formerly belonged to the Duke of Roxburghe and has the Roxburghe arms, and it is now in the British Museum, with the press mark C 39 d. 63. The fragment of a copy of this edition, formerly in the possession of Mr Laing, is now in the University Library at St Andrews. The readings of this edition generally coincide with those of one or other of the previous editions, but it has been much more carelessly printed. The spelling is not nearly so much modernised as that of the next edition. This was printed at Edinburgh by Andro Hart in 1621, and it also is a small 8vo in black letter, apparently unpagged, and, besides the half-sheet containing the title-page and the prose Catechism, has signatures A iiii to N iiii. Two copies of it are still extant; one of which, formerly belonging to the Duke of Roxburghe, having his arms impressed and bound in blue morocco, is now in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and the other, which has the date cut off, is now in the British Museum. The spelling is greatly modernised, and if some of its readings, which differ from those of previous editions, are to be accepted as genuine, others are manifestly erroneous.

A P P E N D I X.

APPENDIX I.

THE KINSHIP OF THE WEDDERBURNS OF ANGUS (p. xviii).

THE more I have investigated this problem the more complicated does it seem to me to become, and, notwithstanding all the kind help extended to me by those who have had more full access to manuscript sources than has fallen to my lot, it seems to me next to impossible to fix the exact connection of the three poets with other branches of the family or clan. For early in the sixteenth century there seems almost to have been a clan of Wedderburns in Dundee and its neighbourhood; and I can only trust that those who are working at the problem under more favourable conditions may be able to present something more satisfactory than the negative results which in the main are all I have been able as yet to attain. I shall give first in order the extracts from MS. and printed documents relating to the Wedderburns generally, and then those relating to the three who are regarded as having had the chief hand in preparing the Compendious Book and furnishing to their reforming countrymen their earliest Psalm, Hymn, and Song Book.

I. I insert again, because of its importance, the list of those who in the first half of the sixteenth century¹ matriculated or graduated at the University of St Andrews:—

i. *From oldest volume of 'Acta Rectorum,' inter nomina Incorporatorum.*

- Anno 1504. Johannes Wedderburn, nac. Ang. (in Collegio²).
" 1505. Ro[bertus] Wedderborne, nac. Ang. (in Pedagogio).
" 1507. Johannes Wedderburne (in Collegio²).
" 1507. Jacobus Wedderburne (in Collegio²)?

¹ In the previous century Willelmus Wedderburn appears in the graduation list as having taken the degree of Determinant or Bachelor in 1475, and that of Licentiate or Master in 1477. A Johannes Wedderb[urn] appears to have taken the degree of B.A. as early as 1434. There is no matriculation list so early.

² *I.e.*, Sancti Salvatoris.

- Anno 1509. Jacobus Wedderbourn (in Collegio¹).
 " 1514. Jacobus Wedderburne, nacionis Angusie.
 " 1525. Johannes Wedderburn (in Pedagogio).
 " 1526. Robertus Wedderburne (in Collegio²).

ii. *From oldest volume of 'Acta Facultatis Artium,' inter nomina Determinatorum et Licentiatorum.*

- Anno 1509. *Primus Actus Collegii*,¹ Robertus Wedderburn, p[aupe], Determ.
 " 1511. Robertus Wedderburn, Licent.
 " 1526. *Quartus Actus*, Johannes Wedderburn, dives, Determ.
 " 1528. Johannes Wedderburn, Licent.
 " 1529. Robertus Wedderburn, in Collegio Divi Leonardi, Determ.
 " 1530. Robertus Wedderburne, in Collegio Divi Leonardi, Licent.

II. Mr A. H. Millar, who has already done such valuable service to his fellow-citizens by his learned and handsome quarto, 'The Roll of the Eminent Burgesses of Dundee,' has most kindly furnished me with a complete list of the entries as to the Wedderburns found in the 'Lockit Book' of the burgesses of Dundee during the sixteenth century. The entire list, I have no doubt, will appear in the Introduction he is preparing to the volume which he is editing for the Scottish History Society, but with his generous permission I subjoin the entries made between 1514 and 1554 :—

1514.		Wedderburn, James, junr., privilege of his father.
1516,	Oct. 10.	" Robert, " "
1517	" 17.	" James? (if Rob ^{ts} . son), privilege of his father.
1523	" 16.	" David, son of Walter. }
"	" "	" David, son of Rob ^{ts} . }
1527,	Nov. 12.	" Alexander, son of late Rob ^{ts} .
"		" George.
1535,	June 8.	" Robert, son of James W., privilege of his father.
"		" William, son and heir of David.
1537,	March 15.	" Gilbert, son of James W.
1552.		" John, son of James W., junr.
1554,	Nov. 15.	" William, son of David W.
"		" Alexander, son of Robert W.

III. *Douglas's Baronage of Scotland*, pp. 278, 279 (abridged).

"The surname of Wedderburn is local, and according to Mr Nisbet was assumed by the proprietors of the lands and barony of Wedderburn in Berwickshire as soon as surnames came to be used in Scotland, and they were afterwards designed Wedderburns of that ilk; but in the reign of King Robert III. a younger brother of the most noble family of Home having married the heir-of-line of the Wedderburns of that ilk, their lands have been in the possession of the Homes ever since. Yet we find Wedderburns proprietors of lands

¹ *I.e.*, Sancti Salvatoris.

² *I.e.*, Divi Leonardi.

in that county some time thereafter. . . . How or when they came to Angus we have no direct evidence; but it appears a branch of them from Eyemouth have settled there¹ much about this time, as being a fit place for all kind of mercantile business. The immediate ancestor of this family was :—

“ I. James Wedderburn, who in the reign of King James III. was designed merchant burges of Dundee, as will be shown hereafter. To whom he was married is not come to our knowledge, but he left issue two sons: (1.) David, who is mentioned in a confirmation of a charter under the Great Seal of a donation ‘ad sustentationem capelani in ecclesia de Dundee,’ &c., dated 19th February 1589;² but he died without issue. (2.) James, who became his father’s heir.

“ II. James, son of James Wedderburn, merchant burges of Dundee in the reign of King James IV.; married Janet, daughter and heiress of David Forrester of Nevay,³ by whom he had a son,

“ III. John [a gentleman of fine accomplishments and much in favour with King James V. (p. 578)], who was town-clerk of Dundee, and got a charter under the Great Seal from King James V., ‘Johanni Wedderburn filio Jacobi Wedderburn, jun., burgen. de Dundé inter ipsum Jacobum et Jonetam Forrester ejus conjugem procreato,’ of the lands of Tofts, &c., in the barony of Tullochhill⁴ in the shire of Forfar, dated 20th June 1527. He got another charter confirming to

¹ Possibly some younger scion of the Wedderburns of Wedderburn had betaken himself to commerce at Berwick while it was still the chief commercial port of Scotland, and after it ceased to be so he, or some descendant of his, removed to Eyemouth, to which part at least of the Scottish trade had naturally been transferred, and, when Dundee rose into greater importance as a commercial emporium, one or more of them migrated thither.

² *Sic* for 1489.

³ *Sic* for “in Neva.”

⁴ Should be “lands of Trosto and part of Tullohill in the barony of Ferne and county of Forfar.” The charter was really signed on 17th and confirmed on 20th January 1527-28 (Register of Great Seal, 1513-1546, No. 539). From No. 1286 in the same volume of the Register, we find that in 1533 John and his mother made over their respective rights of the fee and the liferent of these lands to the tutor on the neighbouring estate of Balnamoon. But as no mention is made of the father, as in the previous charter, we may conclude that the son was then of full age, and as Douglas says that his son John died soon after 1533, we seem to be precluded from identifying him and his son with that James who lived on at Dieppe till 1550-51, and his son John, who returned to Dundee, and was served heir to him in 1553. Douglas’s statements are not always to be implicitly accepted, as Mr Laing had already pointed out (‘Gude and Godlie Ballates,’ pp. xiii, xiv), and one may still with him confess his inability “to assign the exact relationship that may have existed between” the numerous members of the family, “or to account for various important discrepancies in the notices we have in regard to their history.” Generally as the statement that John Wedderburn and a supposed son of his were Town Clerks of Dundee was for long accepted, it has been recently shown to be inaccurate, and it has even been questioned, not without reason, whether the David married to Helen Lawson was really his son.

him some acres of land lying in the lordship of Dudhope, &c., dated 31st August 1533. HE DIED SOON AFTER, and left issue a son,

“IV. David Wedderburn, also town-clerk of Dundee, who got a charter under the Great Seal to him and Helen Lawson, his spouse, of the lands of Hiltoun of Craigie in the shire of Forfar, dated 9th October 1535.¹ . . . He lived to a great age, died about the year 1590, and left issue two sons: (1.) Alexander, his heir; (2.) James, who was bred to the Church,” and was successively Professor of Divinity at St Andrews and Bishop of Dunblane.

If these data were to be accepted, then it would be impossible to identify the second James of Douglas with James the poet, for that James is stated to have had a grandson who was married by 1535, and therefore, we would suppose, born not later than 1514, and a son John, father of this David, who must have been born not later than 1493. In fact, that James could not be identified with the one who entered college in 1507, much less with the oldest of the poet brothers, who entered in 1514. Nor could his son John be identified with John the poet, but only with the John who entered college twenty years before him. I take it that it was he and not John the poet who was, as Douglas says, p. 578, the hero of the archery contest, and was so probably also of the “respite” referred to on p. lxxxviii, for by April 1529 the latter was both “Magister” and “clericus.”²

IV. I next subjoin the various references to Wedderburns in the published Register of the Great Seal and the printed Acts of the Parliament of Scotland which I have myself verified; also extracts from the MS. Register of the Privy Seal, and other MS. Records, kindly copied for me by the Rev. Walter Macleod:—

i. *Register of Great Seal*—1513-1546.

No. 435. Jacobus [senior] Ballivus sasinam dans, 21st December 1517.
See also Nos. 1399, 2616.

No. 539. Jacobus, junior, burgensis de Dundé, consents to charter by Janet Forestare, his spouse, in favour of their son John Weddirburne, 14th January 1527-28. Witnesses—“Joh. Durem, D[omino] Tho. Weddirburne, Do. Rob. Weddirburne, D. David

¹ He got another, dated 13th June 1542, of the lands of Mains of Huntlie, and the tofts, crofts, and buildings on the same. See Nos. 1913 and 2749 in ‘Register of Great Seal,’ 1513-1546.

² If not in priest’s orders then, he could not after the “slaughter” have been promoted without a papal dispensation; and even if in priest’s orders then, he could not, after it, have continued to act as priest without such a dispensation. For the same reason, as well as for the further reason, that all evidence goes to show that he was then absent from Scotland, I take it that it was to one of the non-graduate and non-clerical Roberts referred to in the contemporary Dundee Protocol books, and not to the “Magister” Robertus of 1536, that the respites of 1537-38 and 1543 mentioned on pp. lxxxviii, lxxxix were granted.

Lwyd, M. Roberti, capellanis ac notariis publicis." Also Nos. 1311, 1982.

- No. 1913. David. Confirmation of charter by abbot and chapter of Lundores in favour of him and his wife of half the lands of Hyltoun of Craigie, 9th October 1535. See also Nos. 2749, 1982.
- No. 258. M. Robert. Charter by Hugh Maxwell of Telyng, witnessed *inter alios* by "M. Rob. Wedderburn et M. David Roberti capellanis ac notariis publicis, 26 Februarij 1523-24." Also 946. Charter in favour of Janet Barré,¹ witnessed by the same two chaplains and N.P.'s, 18th May 1530.
- No. 539. As above, witnessed by D[ominus] Rob. Weddirburne.
- No. 340. Robertus. Confirmation of charter of date 21st October 1525, witnessed by him and John Barré, vicar of Dundee, among others. Also 1162, from which it appears he had been married to Janet Forrester, and had died before the end of February 1531-32. She is not to be identified with the Janet Forester married to James, junior, before 1527.

It thus appears, 1st, that, contrary to what Mr Maxwell says (p. 134), a James Wedderburn, senior, was bailie five years before James Wedderburn, junior, was so, as well as in 1523, the year after James, junior, was so: and even James, junior, was already a burghess of Dundee (according to Mr Miller's list, inserted p. lxxxiv) when James the poet matriculated at St Andrews University.

2d, That there were three Roberts witnessing charters between 1523 and 1527—*i.e.*, before the course of Robert the poet was half finished at St Andrews—one a M[agister] Robertus, who was a chaplain and notary public, and is probably to be identified with the Robertus who entered at St Andrews in 1505, and graduated in 1511; a second, styled D[ominus] Robertus, who also was a chaplain and N.P., but had not taken the degree of M.A.; and a third, styled simply Robertus, who was neither chaplain nor in orders, and who it appears, was married and died before 1532. A D[ominus] Tho. Wedderburne, who was a chaplain and N.P., is also mentioned in several charters.

In the earlier volume of the Register (pp. 327, 413, 489) are charters between 1480 and 1495 attested by David Weddirburn,² and on p. 560 one attested by Rob. Wedderburn relating to the foundation of the

¹ This Janet is not described as the widow of any deceased husband, but as the daughter of the late William Barré, to whom George Blair, "zelo intimi amoris ductus," grants the half of his third part of the lands of the "Westfeyld" of Dundee.

² Father of "David Weddirburn senior," who, with his wife, Christina Jamesoun, according to the 'Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis' (vol. ii. pp. 184, 185), in 1532 mortified out of their properties in Moraygait an annual of 14 shillings to the chaplain of the altar of St John the Evangelist.

Franciscan nunnery, and bearing date 8th March 1501-2. David Wedderburn, "scutifer," attests a charter as early as 1476.

ii. *Register of Privy Seal, MS.*

1. Precept for remission to George Wedderburn, brother-german of James Wedderburn, elder, burgess of Dundee, for assisting Archibald, some time Earl of Angus, against the King, &c. At Edinburgh, 6th December 1528. (Vol. viii. fol. 27.)

2. Respite granted to John Wedderburn for slaughter of the deceased John Thomsoun, to last for the space of nineteen years. At Edinburgh, 3rd April 1529. (Vol. viii. fol. 35.)

3. Gift in favour of James Wedderburn and William Wedderburn, and the rest of the children of David Wedderburn,¹ of the escheat of all goods, &c., which pertained to David Wedderburn, burgess of Dundee, and now pertaining, or that shall happen to pertain, to the Queen by reason of escheat, through the said David being fugitive from law and at the horn for the slaughter of David Rollok, burgess of the said burgh. At Edinburgh, 18th April 1543. (Vol. xvii. fol. 48.)

4. Gift to Patrick Lord Gray, his heirs and assignees, of the escheat of all goods, &c., which pertained to David Wedderburn, burgess of Dundee, or now pertaining or that may pertain to the Queen by escheat, and for same reason as stated in preceding entry. At Edinburgh, 6th April 1543. (Vol. xvii. fol. 53.)

5. Respite to Robert Wedderburn, son of James Wedderburn, burgess of Dundee, for the slaughter of — Malisoun, and for all action or crime. At Linlithgow, 6th January 1537-38. (Vol. xi. fol. 43.)

6. Letter of rehabilitation to Gilbert Wedderburn and John Pater-soun, burgesses of Dundee, they having been convicted by the spiritual judge of heresy. At Linlithgow, 8th September 1538. (Vol. xii. fol. 23.)

This entry is brief, but refers for the full form to the one preceding, which is of the same kind, granted to James Annand,² George Annand, Robert Andersoun, John Flescheour,² and Alexander Flescheour, bur-

¹ Probably the David Wedderburn who had been admitted a burgess of Dundee in 1523, and whose son William had been admitted in 1535. A James and William Wedderburn, sons of umquhile David Wedderburn, are referred to, p. 597 of the Register of the Privy Council, 1545 . . . 1569.

² James Annand was Dean of Guild in 1539-40, and John Flescheour had been Dean in 1536-37. A Jo. Fleschar took his degrees at St Andrews the same years as Willelmus Wedderburn, and another of the family took his degrees in 1514 and

gesses of Dundee, who were "convict be ane sentence of the spirituale juge of heresy, of the quhilk thai wer dilatit and abjurit," and their goods escheated to the Crown; but "for ther gude, trew, and thankful service done be thame to his hienes, and compositioun payit be thame to his thesaurer, his grace hes remittit and forgevin to thame the eschate of all thair gudis." Then follow the terms of rehabilitation in the usual form.

7. Gift to Robert Logan of Restalrig, knight, of the escheat goods, &c., which pertained to James Wedderburn, burgess of Dundee, and now in the Queen's hands, through the said James being at the horn for the slaughter of David Rollok, burgess of Dundee. At Edinburgh, 6th April 1543. (Vol. xvii. fol. 44.)

8. Gift to Andro Barré, elder, burgess of Dundee, of the escheat of all goods, &c., which pertained to Gilbert Wedderburn, burgess of the said burgh, and now in the Queen's hands, through the said Gilbert being at the horn for the slaughter of David Rollok, burgess of the said burgh. At Edinburgh, 16th April 1543. (Vol. xvii. fol. 47.)

9. Respite to James Wedderburn, Robert Wedderburn, John Smart, and Robert Child, for art and part of the slaughter of David Rollok, burgess of Dundee, committed in the said burgh in the month of March last. At Edinburgh, 27th July 1543. (Vol. xvii. fol. 80.)

10. Respite to David Wedderburn, burgess of Dundee, and four others, for art and part in the slaughter of David Rollok, burgess of the said burgh. At Edinburgh, 25th September 1543. (Vol. xviii. fol. 2.)

11. Remission to Gilbert Wedderburn, burgess of Dundee, for his remaining at home and absenting himself from the army,¹ and for art and part of the murder of George² [? David] Rollok, burgess of Dundee. At Stirling, 6th June 1544. (Vol. xviii. fol. 49.)

1516, the same years as John Scrimgeour, who rose to be Provost in Dundee, as did also James, who took his degrees in 1524-26. Henry and David Scrimgeour graduated in 1533-34, and Charles in 1534-36. Alexander Annand graduated in 1527-29, David Rollock in 1536, and James Halyburton in 1537-38. Thomas Clahills, who took his Bachelor's degree in 1523, George Clahillis, who took his in 1526, and John Child, who took his in 1536, were all probably from the neighbourhood of Dundee. The John Sandilands who took the degree of M.A. in 1534 was very probably the one who was Robert Wedderburn's companion in Paris, and his lifelong friend.

¹ Mustered against the English in May 1544. Many others in Dundee absented themselves on that occasion.

² There was a George as well as a David, a Richard, and a James Rollok; but George, according to Maxwell (p. 392), was still alive in 1547. James, like his

12. Gift to Archibald Campbell of Murthlie, of the escheat of all goods, &c., which pertained to Robert Wedderburn, son to the deceased James Wedderburn, elder,¹ burgess of Dundee, and now in the Queen's hands, through his breaking of the fence and arrestment made on the third part of the teind sheaves of the Kirk of Dundee, by Alexander Blair, messenger. At Linlithgow, 16th August 1544. (Vol. xviii. fol. 77.)

13. Respite to Gilbert Wedderburn, burgess of Dundee, for art and part of the slaughter of David Rollok, burgess of Dundee, "committed on auld feid and forthought felony." At Linlithgow, 6th April 1545. (Vol. xix. fol. 2.)

14. Precept of legitimation to Robert and David Wedderburns, bastard sons of Mr Robert Wedderburn, vicar of Dundee. At Linlithgow, 13th January 1552. (Vol. xxv. fol. 43.)

15. Remission to David Wedderburn, elder, burgess of Dundee, James and William Wedderburns his sons, Thomas Gardin and James Abison,² for their violent deforcement of Robert Marshall, officer of the burgh of Dundee, in the execution of his office, on the 21st October 1553, and for hurting and wounding of the said Robert, on the same day in the time of the execution of his said office, committed on forthought felony. At Edinburgh, 14th December 1553. (Vol. xxvii. fol. 57.)

friend John Wedderburn, was accused of heresy, fled his country, and some years later became "Portar of Camfeir," a place which Maxwell (p. 79) identifies with Campvere in Holland, and his office with that of the "Conservator of Scots Privileges" there. Others, however, identify the place with Campher in Brittany, which had also a considerable trade with Dundee, and doubt whether the office of "Portar" "placed the holder at the head of the community" of Scots merchants as decisively as did that of "Conservator" at Campvere. A Joannes Moffat, however, had been, by royal charter, constituted "conservator privilegiarum Scotiæ" within the bounds of Flanders, Zealand, and Brabant, at Dundee on 16th February 1526-27.—Acts Parl. Scot., vol. i. p. 331.

¹ From the entries given in ii. 7, 9, 12, it seems beyond question that the same James Wedderburn is referred to in all the three, that in the last he is designated as James Wedderburn elder, and that though deceased then, he is not represented as so in No. 9—that is, in 1543. Though designated as "elder" then, he falls to be identified with the James junior, who was bailie in 1522 and 1536, not with the James senior, who was bailie in 1517, and is supposed to have been his uncle or an older cousin. He was the eldest son of Robert W. and Janet Forrester or Froster. At the time of his death he was still "at the horn" and his property forfeited to the Crown; and the name of his widow was not Janet Barry but Janet Logan, as given in iv. 2.

² *Sic* in MS. Mr Millar suggests Alison—a name not unknown in Dundee at that time.

iii. *From printed volume of Register of Privy Council, 1545-1569.*

P. 296. Under date of 10th December 1564 James Wedderburn, "clerk of coquet of Dundé," who had made a seizure of the goods of Symon Clowson, master of a Dutch ship, is charged to restore them, under pain of rebellion, and "gif he fails to put him to the horn."

P. 517. Under date 10th June 1567, James Weddirburn, "baillie of the burgh of Dundé," summoned "for spulzeing the ship of Harrie Nauchtie lying off Bruchty, failed to appear, and was put to the horne, and all his movabill gudis escheit to our Soveraine's use."

P. 597. 22nd December 1567, "Her Majestie heichlie offendit that the inhabitants of Dundee stood away from the oist¹ and army appointit to have passed to Glasgow in the month of August" 1565. James Wedderburn and other four burgesses who paid the fine imposed crave to be reimbursed by the council and community.

iv. *Acta Dominorum Concilii et Sessionis.*

1. Letters purchased at the instance of James Skrimgeour, chanter of Brechin, against Gilbert Wedderburn, James Carnegy, John Flescher, James Luvell, and James Hay, making mention that the defenders had been lately accused of heresy, and the pursuer had for his safety obtained letters of lawburrows of them under the pain of £200. Nevertheless, the said defenders had, by sinister and wrong information, purchased letters against him. The Lords of Council suspend the letters purchased by the said Gilbert Wedderburn and his colleagues. (Vol. x. fol. 134, 12th July 1538.)

2. Action at the instance of the Queen and David Logane, burgess of the Canongate of Edinburgh, cessioner and assignee constitute by Robert Logane of Restalrik, knight, in and to the escheat goods, debts, tacks, &c., which pertained to the deceased James Wedderburne,² burgess of Dundee, against the abbot and convent of the Abbey of Lundoris, Jonet Logane, relict of the said deceased James Wedderburne, Mr James Bonar, now her spouse, James Blyth, Robert Seytoun, John Strathauchin, Roger Charteris, Andrew Ogilvy of Duntrune, John Balduvy of that Ilk, Andrew Irland, Robert Watson's wife, John Quhitit, Thomas Mylne, John Jacksoun, Cristiane Spens, Walter Barclay, and Alexander Carnegy, tenants of the lands which pertained to the said deceased James the time of the putting of him to the horn, and Robert Wedderburne his son, to hear and see all the goods, &c., which belonged to him decerned to pertain to the Queen and her said donator. Continued till 15th July instant. (Vol. xxi. fol. 13, 3rd July 1546.)²

¹ Mustered against the rebel lords.

² See note ¹ on previous page.

3. The Lords of Council advocate the action and cause pursued of before by John Onsourik, burgess of Danskin, as procurator and factor for Jous Sywart and Winfray Ker, burgess of Danskin, against David Wedderburn, Alexander Patersoun, Robert Patersoun, Gilbert Quhite, John Fotheringhame, and Thomas Cristale, burgesses of Dundee, touching the spoliation by the defenders "of certane bow-stringis and mastis furth of Michael Arnold's schip" in 1545. Continued till 26th January next. (Vol. xxii. fol. 59, 17th December 1546.)¹

v. *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iii.

1. In the Roll of the Parliament which met at Edinburgh on 10th December 1540, there stand among the burgesses the names of Ja[cobus] Wedderburn et David Rollok pro Dundé; but in the Parliament which met on 14th March 1540-41, which passed the severe Acts against so-called heretics, the name of David Rollok only is found (pp. 356, 386).

2. David Rollok, James Wedderburne, and Maister David Strath-auchin, named as witnessing the execution of summons by Carrick Herald at the merkat croce of the bur^t of Dundé (p. 419).

3. The representatives of Dundee are summoned to answer for remaining away from the host in July 1545, and Robert Myln, Provost, and George Rollok appearing for them, agree to "come in the will" of the Governor (pp. 464, 465).

V. I now subjoin those notices supposed to have more immediate reference to the three poetical members of the clan.

i. *From Row's 'Historie of the Kirk of Scotland,' sub anno 1558.*

"As for more particular means whereby many in Scotland got some knowledge of God's truth, . . . there were some books set out, such as Sir David Lindsay his poesie upon the foure monarchies. . . . Wedderburn's Psalmes and Godlie Ballads changeing many of the old Popish songs unto godlie purposes."—P. 6.

¹ This process appears to have "dragged its slow length along" for several years, and finally to have been decided by the bailies of Dundee on 10th November 1550, who found that the bowstrings, &c., "war nocht lawfull prize nor fremit guids, but pertieinit to friends—burgesses of Danskyne—as their awn proper guids, and Daid and his colleagues war compellit to pay for them to the factor of the said merchants" (Maxwell's 'Old Dundee,' pp. 262, 263). This David falls to be identified with David Wedderburn, elder, of ii. 15. Mr Maxwell, however, identifies him with David the son of the vicar. But if this son had grown up to man's estate by 1546, he must have been born before 1526—that is, before Robert the poet matriculated at St Andrews. Since this note was put in type, it has, however, been clearly shown that the sons of the vicar were very young at the time of their legitimization, and did not come of age till 1571 (see 'The Wedderburn Book,' vol. i. pp. 18, 19).

- ii. *From John Johnston's 'Coronis Martyrum,' as given in M'Crie's 'Life of Knox,' p. 463, ed. 1855.*

"JOHANNES WEDDERBVRNUS.

Pulsus in exilium, an. 1546. Exul in Anglia moritur 1556.

I.

Non meriti est nostri, meritas tibi dicere grates,
 Aut paria, aut aliqua parte referre vicem.
 Quæ meruisse alii vellent, nec posse mereri est :
 Hæc velle, hæc posse, hæc te meruisse tuum est.
 Sic facis atque canis sacra : sic agis omnia, nil ut
 Sanctius, et nusquam purior ulla fides.
 Hinc nullum magis invisum caput hostibus : hinc et
 Nemo unquam meruit charior esse bonis.
 Grandius hoc meritum, nil te meruisse fateris,
 Humanis meritis nec superesse locum.

II.

DE JOHANNE, JACOBO, ET ROBERTO WEDDERBVRNO, FRATRIBUS.

Divisum imperium, per tres, tria Numina, Fratres,
 Infera, quæque vides, quæque superna, canunt.
 Vos miror potius tres vero nomine fratres,
 Vosque supra veneror, Numina vana, Deos ;
 Concordes animas, clarissima lumina gentis,
 Tres paribus studiis, tres pietate pares.
 Felices qui vos tales genuere parentes,
 Quæque orbi tellus pignora rara dedit.
 Progenitos Cælo Alectum dedit inclyta terris :
 Inde DEI-DONUM nomen habere putem."

—Johnstoni 'περι Στεφανων.'

- iii. *From 'James Melville's Autobiography and Diary.'*

When at school at Montrose in 1570-71, after relating the pains taken by Erskine of Dun to get the singing of Psalms practised in the kirk, he adds, "Ther was also ther a post, that frequented Edinbruch, and brought hame Psalme buikes and ballates. . . . He schew me first Wedderburn's Songs, wharof I lerned diverse *par ceur* with great diversitie of toones. . . . Of him also I lerned to understand the Calender efter the common use thair of."—Pp. 22, 23.

3. The Lords of Council advocate the action and cause pursued of before by John Onsourik, burgess of Danskin, as procurator and factor for Jous Sywart and Winfray Ker, burgess of Danskin, against David Wedderburn, Alexander Patersoun, Robert Patersoun, Gilbert Quhite, John Fotheringhame, and Thomas Cristale, burgesses of Dundee, touching the spoliation by the defenders "of certane bow-stringis and mastis furth of Michael Arnold's schip" in 1545. Continued till 26th January next. (Vol. xxii. fol. 59, 17th December 1546.)¹

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i. *From Row's 'Historie of the Kirk of Scotland,' sub anno 1558.*

"As for more particular means whereby many in Scotland got some knowledge of God's truth, . . . there were some books set out, such as Sir David Lindesay his poesie upon the foure monarchies. . . . Wedderburn's Psalmes and Godlie Ballads changeing many of the old Popish songs unto godlie purposes."—P. 6.

¹ This process appears to have "dragged its slow length along" for several years, and finally to have been decided by the bailies of Dundee on 10th November 1550, who found that the bowstrings, &c., "war nocht lawfull prize nor fremit guids, but pertieit to friends—burgesses of Danskyne—as their awn proper guids, and David and his colleagues war compellit to pay for them to the factor of the said merchants" (Maxwell's 'Old Dundee,' pp. 262, 263). This David falls to be identified with David Wedderburn, elder, of ii. 15. Mr Maxwell, however, identifies him with David the son of the vicar. But if this son had grown up to man's estate by 1546, he must have been born before 1526—that is, before Robert the poet matriculated at St Andrews. Since this note was put in type, it has, however, been clearly shown that the sons of the vicar were very young at the time of their legitimation, and did not come of age till 1571 (see 'The Wedderburn Book,' vol. i. pp. 18, 19).

- ii. *From John Johnston's 'Coronis Martyrum,' as given in M'Crie's 'Life of Knox,' p. 463, ed. 1855.*

"JOHANNES WEDDERBVRNUS.

Pulsus in exilium, an. 1546. Exul in Anglia moritur 1556.

I.

Non meriti est nostri, meritas tibi dicere grates,
 Aut paria, aut aliqua parte referre vicem.
 Quæ meruisse alii vellent, nec posse mereri est :
 Hæc velle, hæc posse, hæc te meruisse tuum est.
 Sic facis atque canis sacra : sic agis omnia, nil ut
 Sanctius, et nusquam purior ulla fides.
 Hinc nullum magis invisum caput hostibus : hinc et
 Nemo unquam meruit charior esse bonis.
 Grandius hoc meritum, nil te meruisse fateris,
 Humanis meritis nec superesse locum.

II.

DE JOHANNE, JACOBO, ET ROBERTO WEDDERBVRNO, FRATRIBUS.

Divisum imperium, per tres, tria Numina, Fratres,
 Infera, quæque vides, quæque superna, canunt.
 Vos miror potius tres vero nomine fratres,
 Vosque supra veneror, Numina vana, Deos ;
 Concordes animas, clarissima lumina gentis,
 Tres paribus studiis, tres pietate pares.
 Felices qui vos tales genuere parentes,
 Quæque orbi tellus pignora rara dedit.
 Progenitos Cælo Alectum dedit inclyta terris :
 Inde DEI-DONUM nomen habere putem."

—Johnstoni 'περι Στεφανων.'

- iii. *From 'James Melville's Autobiography and Diary.'*

When at school at Montrose in 1570-71, after relating the pains taken by Erskine of Dun to get the singing of Psalms practised in the kirk, he adds, "Ther was also ther a post, that frequented Edinbruch, and brought hame Psalme buikes and ballates. . . . He schew me first Wedderburn's Songs, wharof I lerned diverse *par ceur* with great diversitie of toones. . . . Of him also I lerned to understand the Calender efter the common use thairrof."—Pp. 22, 23.

iv. *From Calderwood's 'History of the Kirk of Scotland,'* vol. i.
pp. 141-143, Wodrow Society's edition.¹

"This yeere [1540] James Wedderburne, eldest sonne to James Wedderburne, merchant at Dundie, called James Wedderburne at the West Kirk Stile, was delated to the King, and letters of captioun directed to take him. He departed secreetlie to France, and *remained at Rowan and Deepe till he decessed*. He had beene brought up in Sanct Leonard's Colledge in his youth, in the time of the government of Johne Duke of Albanie, and was reasonablie weill instructed in philosophie and humanitie. Thereafter he went to France, where he played the merchant. After his returne, he was instructed in religioun by James Hewat, a Blacke frier at Dundie. He confirmed the doctrine which the other had receaved in his youth, in St Leonard's Colledge, under Mr Gawin Logie. This James had a good gift of poesie, and made diverse comedeis and tragedeis in the Scottish tongue, wherein he nipped the abusses and superstitioun of the time. He composed in forme of tragedie the beheading of Johne the Baptist, which was acted at the West Port of Dundie, wherin he carped roughlie the abusses and corruptions of the Papists. He compiled the Historie of Dyonisius the Tyranne, in form of a comedie, which was acted in the play-feild of the said burgh, wherin he likewise nipped the Papists. He counterfooted also the conjuring of a ghaist, which was, indeed, practised by Frier Laing, beside Kingorne, which Frier Laing had beene confessor to the King. But after this conjuring the King was constrained, for shame, to remove him. When he was at Deepe, the factors at Deepe, Johne Meldrum, Henrie Tod, Johne Mowat, Gilbert Scot, delated him to the Bishop of Rowan; but the bishop refused to meddle with him, becaus they could prove nothing against him. They informed the bishop and channons of Rowan, that he was declared an heretick in Scotland: the bishop desired them to send for the processe, and that being tryed, he sould have no residence there. We heare no farther but that *he remained as factor at Deepe*, and deing, said to his sonne, 'We have beene acting our part in the theater: you are to succeed; see that you act your part faithfullie!'

"Mr Johne Wedderburne, his brother, brought up also in the course of philosophie, under Mr Gawin Logie, being perswaded by his freinds, albeit against his will, he tooke on the order of preesthood, and was a preest in Dundie. But soone after he beganne to professe the [Reformed] religioun. Being summouned, he departed to Almaine, where he heard Luther and Melancton, and became verie fervent and

¹ His account of the Wedderburns is not contained in the old edition of his History, but only in the edition of the Wodrow Society. It had been quoted from the MS. by Sir John G. Dalyell in the Introduction to his 'Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century.'

zealous. He translated manie of Luther's dytements into Scottish meeter, and the Psalmes of David. He turned manie bawdie songs and rymes in godlie rymes. He returned after the death of the King, in December 1542, but was againe persued by the cardinall, and fled to England.

"Mr Robert Wedderburne, the youngest brother, brought up also under Mr Gawin, excelled his brother both in humanitie and knowledge of the Scriptures. He succeeded to Mr Robert Barrie,¹ vicar of Dundie. He went to Parise, where he remained cheeflie in companie of those that were instructed in religioun, as Mr Alexander Hay, N. Sandelands, sonne to the Laird of Calder, in West Lothiane, and Lord of Sanct Johne, whose fater and whole familie were most zealous in advancing of religioun. After the death of the Cardinall, he returned to Scotland. The vicar, his mother's brother, being departed, he got possessioun of the vicarage, but remained for the most part with the Laird of Calder. When he was comming home out of the east countreis, in a Danskein ship, the shippe was driven by contrarie winds upon Norway, where the passingers landed at Ripperwicke, and remained certane dayes. In the meane time, upon the Saturday before Whitsonday even, 1546, after continuall disputing and reasoning among the passingers, some Popish, and some Protestants, he, and the rest of his fellowes, tooke the boldnesse, notwithstanding they understood nothing of the cardinall's death, to make his pourtraiture, or statue, of a great oaken blocke, and thereupon write his name in paper affixed thereon. They accuse him, condemne him, and burne his statue in a great fire of timber. The cardinall was slaine that same verie day, in the morning, in his owne castell of Sanct Andrewes."

The chief conclusions to which, after repeated consideration of these various notices, I had felt warranted to come were—(1) That early in the fifteenth century—certainly not later than the date assigned by Douglas—a branch of the Berwickshire Wedderburns had settled in Dundee or its neighbourhood, for as early as 1434 I find a Wedderburn, bearing the Christian name of John (one of the commonest in the family), graduating at St Andrews, and therefore matriculated about 1430. (2) That by the beginning of the sixteenth century the Wedderburns of Dundee might be spoken of almost as a clan rather than a family. (3) That the two James Wedderburns mentioned by Douglas are hardly to be identified, as they seem to be, by Mr Laing and Mr Maxwell, with Calderwood's James Wedderburn, merchant, "at the West Kirk Stile," and his eldest son James, for the first James is represented by Douglas as coming to Dundee about 1430, and flourishing in the reign of James III., the second as

¹ Two Barries are claimed as vicars, the one from 1483 till after 1525, the other in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, but both had the Christian name of John. See, however, note 2, pp. xcix, c.

flourishing in the reign of James IV., and his son John as flourishing in the reign of James V., and thus probably to be identified with the John who matriculated at St Andrews in 1504, while the Robert who matriculated at St Andrews in 1505, and graduated in 1511, and witnessed various charters between 1523 and 1527, as well as the James who matriculated in 1507, were possibly younger brothers of this John. (4) That no materials as yet accessible to me enable me to explain the exact relation between this branch, and Calderwood's 'James Wedderburn at the West Kirk Stile' in the reign of James V., and his eldest son James who matriculated at St Andrews in 1514, and his younger sons, John who matriculated in 1525 and graduated in 1528, and Robert who matriculated in 1526 and graduated in 1530, who came under the influence of the nascent reformers at St Andrews, and were the chief authors of the collection of "Gude and Godlie Ballates," here reprinted.

From the age at which young men of their rank of life generally entered the University, I should suppose that James was probably born shortly before 1500, and finished his course the year after the outbreak of the Reformation in Germany; that John was born about 1508, and was brought in contact with Buchanan, Hamilton, Alesius, and Logie, when reforming opinions first reached Scotland; and that Robert was born a year or two later than John, and, more immediately than he, under the charge of Logie, who before 1526 had risen to be Principal of St Leonard's College. James, though, like many young men of the better class in Dundee in that age and for long after, taking a university training, was intended for his father's profession, in due time went abroad to learn it more fully, and to acquire a knowledge of foreign languages, then returned to Dundee and continued to reside chiefly there till 1539-40. "Letters of caption" being then issued against him, "he departed secretly" to France, and appears to have remained at Rouen or Dieppe till he died. At both places special privileges¹ had been conceded to the Scots, and at both places there were Scottish merchants or factors. It was through these ports that the trade with France was chiefly carried on, and Dundee was one of the principal ports through which that trade, as well as that with the Baltic ports, was carried on; and probably in that age no single firm had so large a share in both as the firm or firms of the Wedderburns. The younger brothers, John and Robert, were evidently intended for the clerical profession; both by 1530 had become Masters of Arts; and after that date they are not too readily to be identified with the transactions of any John or Robert in the clan whose Christian name is not preceded by the designation "Maister" or its initial M.

After the preceding part of this Appendix had been drawn up and put in type, Alexander Wedderburn, Esq., Q.C., of 47 Cadogan Place,

¹ For account of these privileges see 'Miscellanea Scotica,' vol. iv. pp. 49-53.

London, most kindly placed at my service part of the proofs of the very careful and elaborate account of the several branches of the family of the Wedderburns of Angus, which, after a thorough research in the charter-chests of the family, the Records of the Burgh of Dundee, and many of the public Records, he has prepared and is getting privately printed for the use of the family under the title of 'The Wedderburn Book.' I regret much that I do not as yet see my way to agree with him in some minor points, and especially in identifying John, the son of James the poet, with John, the son of the second James of Douglas, who, so far as I can ascertain, belonged to an earlier generation,—this John being already at college when the father of the other John was still a boy.¹ But I gratefully own my obligations to him for much valuable counsel and guidance, and I gladly refer to his work for a complete genealogy of the Wedderburns, and for many particulars about the "clan" in the sixteenth century, as to which I must content myself with inserting the brief summary he has most kindly sent me :—

"There were certainly," Mr Wedderburn says, "four distinct families—viz., those of

"i. James Wedderburn,² who married Janet Barry, and was father of the 'Gude and Godlie Ballates' triumvirate, and progenitor of John Wedderburn, [who rose first to be Professor of Mathematics in the University of Padua, and afterwards to be] 'Protomedicus' in Moravia (1583-1651), and some of whose descendants, it is said, are still to be

¹ And the date of the birth of that other John being not yet very definitely ascertained, it being doubtful whether he was born by 1533, much more by 1527-28, the date of the earliest of the two charters referred to in note ⁴, p. lxxxv.

² The most certain of the entries relating to him on which I have yet come are those in the Exchequer Rolls from 1510 to 1514, from which it appears that he entered on office as one of the "custumars" of Dundee on 19th April 1510, and gave in his accounts from that date on 11th August 1510 (Exchequer Rolls, vol. 1508-1513, p. 363), and so annually for 1511, 1512, 1513 (pp. 384, 489, 578). During these years he also gave in the accounts of the bailies of Dundee, though it is not expressly stated that he was one of their number (pp. 375, 398, 498). In the following year "Janet Barry, relict of the late James Wedderburn," gives in the custumar accounts from 30th July to 1st November 1513, which was probably the date of her husband's death (vol. 1513-1522, p. 50). In all these entries he is named simply "Jacobus Wedderburn," not "*de* Wedderburn," though several of the custumars of the previous half century are honoured with the prefix *de* to their surname. It has been supposed that it is he who, in the 'Acta Dominorum Auditorum,' under date 9th May 1491 (vol. 1466-1494, p. 149), is named James of Wedderburn. But this is rather doubtful, and certainly it is not his son and heir, but James, son of Robert, who, in the Dundee Protocol Book of 1518-1534, is twice styled James of Wedderburn, though even he is more frequently styled James Wedderburn, Bailie. The chief value of this Decreet of the Lords Auditors seems to me to be that it shows the Wedderburns were already, in the end of the fifteenth century, making commercial ventures into those Scandinavian kingdoms where ultimately they had a branch establishment.

found there; and James Wedderburn, [the confidant of Archbishop Laud, who was Professor of Divinity in St Mary's College, St Andrews, and afterwards became Dean of the Chapel Royal and] Bishop of Dumblane (1585-1639).

"ii. Walter Wedderburn in the Welgait, progenitor of a branch of the family long resident in Fife—at Cupar, Pittormie, and elsewhere.

"iii. David Wedderburn in the Moraygait, father of David Wedderburn of Craigie, who married Helen Lawson, and was progenitor of the Craigie branch of the family.

"iv. Robert Wedderburn, who married Janet Froster, and was progenitor of the families of Kingennie, Easter Powrie, Wedderburn, Blackness, Balindean, and Gosford, who were long distinguished in the annals of their burgh, county, and country."

The following additional particulars regarding the three poets are almost all derived from his work, though they are here inserted somewhat in my own words, and accompanied with extracts from the Dundee Protocol Book, 1518-1534, which I have myself verified, and Mr Maitland Anderson has copied out for me:—

1. James, the eldest son of the merchant-burgess at the West Kirk Stile, was born probably a little before 1500, admitted as burgess on 17th October 1517 (Lock. Bk.), entered as heir to his father in an annualrent 28th September 1521 (Prot. Bk.), and as such heir got sasine on 29th November 1531 of a land in St Mary's Close¹ in N. Marketgait (ibid.) He is often named in the records of the burgh in 1521-23 and 1531-37.² After 1537 the only references to him are on 10th November 1550, "when part of a cargo of wine, sent from Dieppe to Dundee, is described as the property of James Wedderburn of Deip (Burgh Rec.)," and "3rd November 1553, when his son John is returned heir to him" ('Wedderburn Book,' vol. i. pp. 22, 23). It may have been he who, along with David Lovell, represented Dundee in the first Scottish Parliament of 1540, but did not in the second (1541), in which so many severe Acts against heretics were passed; and it

¹ "Clausura sancte Margrete" (D. P. B.) [Anno 1531] "xxix^o die novembris, horâ decimâ ante meridiem presentibus Andreâ Barry seniore, David Wedderburn seniore, Jacobo Bowar, Alexandro Mudé in . . . de possessione datâ per terram et lapidem, per magistrum Jacobum Matland, capellanum capellanie sancte Margrete scituate infra ecclesiam parochialem de Dundé, Jacobo Wedderburn filio et heredi quondam Jacobi Wedderburn, de totâ illâ terrâ interiori infra clausuram tenementi dicte capellanie jacen[tis] ex parte boreali vici fori, que terra interior jacet ex parte orientali dicte clausure inter terram . . . ad boream . . . secundum vim formam et tenorem sui antiqui infeofamenti desuper habiti. Quibus factis dictus Jacobus Wedderburn pure et simpliciter resignavit in manibus dicti magistri Jacobi unum annum redditum viginti solidorum monete Scocie de totâ dictâ terrâ suâ interiori cum pertinenciis. Qui quidem magister Jacobus dedit sasinam, statum hereditarium, et possessionem eiusdem annui redditûs Roberto Barry filio et heredi quondam Roberti Barry secundum tenorem carte desuper fiende."

² Possibly it was during this interval, 1523-1531, that he went abroad.

may have been he who is mentioned, in the volume of the Exchequer Rolls just issued, as being in 1533 "unus ballivorum burgi de Dundé." Mr Wedderburn, however, refers these entries to the James who was the son of Robert Wedderburn, and was "at the horn" in 1544.

2. John Wedderburn is rarely mentioned in the Dundee records, probably on account of his frequent and prolonged absences from the burgh. There is a John Wedderburn named as present at a transaction on 30th August 1527, who is no doubt he; and the same remark applies to Mr John Wedderburn, chaplain of St Matthew's chapel, who resigns some land to Alexander Fife, 1532-33 (*ibid.*, pp. 14, 15).¹ The records make no mention of the parts of Germany he visited between 1539-1542, or the parts of England where he passed his later exile, or the way he earned his livelihood. It is possible that he is the John Wedderburn "complainer in a proceeding before the English Courts in 1547-51," "but this is quite speculative" (*ibid.*) Still more so is the suggestion of Maxwell, that he became secularised and is to be identified with the previous John. Like some other Scottish exiles he would, during the reign of Edward VI., have been entitled to hold a benefice, or act as a chaplain or curate, or even, without forfeiting his clerical status, to marry a wife, though there is no evidence that he ever did so (*Book*, vol. i. pp. 14, 15).

3. Robert Wedderburn, "though a priest, was long the lover o Isobell Lovell, and, by her, the father of two sons who were legitimatised by the Crown" in 1552. The first mention of him in the Dundee records occurs on 10th May 1528 (*Prot. Bk.*), when "Robert Wedderburn binds himself quickly to receive institution or collation to the chaplaincy of St Katrine, and as soon as possible to accept the order of presbyter, and abide continually in the daily service of the church of Dundee."² Mr Wedderburn does not think, as some

¹ "Primo die mensis Februarii anno 1532. . . . Personaliter constitutus discretus vir magister Johannes Wedderburn, capellanus capellanie Sti Mathei situate infra ecclesiam parochialem de Dundé, cum consensu et assensu honorabilis viri Andree Barry eius patroni, utilitate et augmentatione rentalis dicte capellanie undique previsa, per terram et lapidem sursum reddidit, pureque simpliciter resignavit in manus Alexandri Caraill, ballivi de Dundé, tota et integra illa duo tementa terrarum dicte capellanie spectantia cum domibus et edificiis eorundem . . . ex parte boreali vici fori. . . . Ballivus, auctoritate officii sui, predicte terre lapidisque traditionem contulit, et deliberavit sasinam statum et possessionem. . . . Alexandro Fif scissori, et Isabelle Man sponse eius, et eorum alteri diutius viventi in conjunctâ infeodatione," &c.

² Robertus Wedderburn "obligavit se quatenus cito recipiet institutionem seu collationem capellanie sancte Katrine virginis, . . . et in omni possibilitate incontinenter accipiet ordinem presbyteratus, et permanebit continue in servicio quotidiano sancte ecclesie parochialis de Dundé." At this time he was still under age, and the chaplaincy was proposed to be given to him, as a similar benefice was given to Calvin at Pont l'Evêque in France, and more valuable ones were given to Patrick

others do, that he was ever admitted a burges of Dundee, and he also says that "from 1530 down to 1546" he seems to have lived abroad. Certainly till May 1530 he was at St Andrews, and at Dundee till 1533. I should rather suppose that he would not go abroad till after his early and lifelong friend, young Sandelands of Calder, finished his course in St Andrews (as he did in 1534 or 1536) and was ready to go to Paris with him. He returned to Scotland in 1546, but, according to Calderwood, remained for the most part with the laird of Calder. "There is," Mr Wedderburn says, "an interesting charter by him, dated 10th March 1551-52, by which, after reciting that his house had been destroyed in the war 'between us and our auld enemies the English,'¹ he undertakes to repair it and feu the same to James Lovell, reserving for himself and his successors in office one chamber, to be used as the vicar's chamber in all time coming."—('Wedderburn Book,' vol. i. pp. 16-18; also Maxwell's 'Old Dundee,' p. 148, and Millar's 'Eminent Burgesses of Dundee,' pp. 21, 22.)

and John Hamilton in Scotland, to aid in defraying expenses during residence at a University. Of course, under the privileges conceded by Papal Bulls to students at St Andrews, he would be exempt, while there, from the obligation personally to perform the duties of the chaplaincy; but, singularly enough, it appears to be doubtful whether he performed them even after leaving the University. For under date 7th December 1532 we come on the following entry in the Dundee Protocol Book: "Personaliter constitutus Magister Robertus Wedderburn vicarius de Dundé, fatetur, se plane nullum jus nec clameum habere ad capellaniam Ste Katrine Virginis situatam infra ecclesiam parochialem de Dundé, nec ad aliquam presentationem eiusdem, et si quam habuit seu habet, ibidem simpliciter in favorem domini Thome Bell demisit."

This of course terminated any connection he may have had with S. Katrine's chaplaincy; but by naming him as vicar of Dundee at that date, it rather conflicts with the commonly received opinion that it was not till some years after his return to Scotland, and after the death of the Cardinal, that he obtained the vicarage. The only explanation I can suggest is, that in the first fervour of his reforming zeal he may, before going abroad, have resigned it to the second John Barrie, and that after Barrie's death in 1551, when his opinions, as expressed in the 'Complaynt of Scotland,' had become more moderate, and Archbishop Hamilton was professedly trying to reform the Church from within, he may have deemed himself warranted to accept a new presentation to it; or alternatively, that Barrie throughout was not really vicar, though occasionally named as such in the records, but simply Wedderburn's *locum tenens*, just as some one else must have been after Barrie's death, if the vicar continued still to live "mostly" with the laird of Calder. One might have been disposed to assign both these entries to the elder Robert who graduated in 1511, had it not been that in the former, when the younger was still a non-graduate, he appears simply as *Robertus*, but in the second as Magister Robertus.

¹ "Bello inter nostrates et Anglos veteres nostros inimicos." Mr Maxwell (p. 149) gives a facsimile of the signature of the charter, "*Magister Robertus Wedderburn, Vicarius de Dundee.*"

V. MR ROBERT WEDDERBURN, SUPPOSED AUTHOR OF THE
'COMPLAYNT OF SCOTLAND.'

I. *From Mr Laing's Preface to his Reprint of 1868 of the
'Gude and Godlie Ballates.'*

"Another circumstance that falls to be noticed in connexion with the name of Wedderburn is the authorship of that curious little prose work, the 'Complaynt of Scotland,' printed, it is supposed, at St Andrews¹ in 1549. Two 'slight and contradictory notices constitute' (says Dr Leyden) 'all the information which has as yet been discovered concerning the author.' In the catalogues of the Harleian Library, 1742 and 1745, a copy of the book is twice entered as 'Vedderburn's Complaine of Scotland,' 1549. It was conjectured that Wedderburn's name might have occurred on the title-page, which is not preserved in any existing copy. On the other hand, Dr George Mackenzie, who is extremely inaccurate in his statements, describes the work as having been written by a Sir James Inglis, knight, who, he says, died at Culross in 1554. It is quite clear that he confounded some imaginary person with the Sir James Inglis, Abbot of Culross, whom Sir D. Lyndsay commemorates among the Scottish Poets, but who was murdered in 1531. Regarding Inglis's claim, I may refer to a long note in Dunbar's Poems, vol. ii. p. 398. Dr Leyden, in republishing the 'Complaynt' itself (Edinburgh, 1801), attempted, but not successfully, to establish a claim for Sir David Lyndsay to have been the author.

"As this question of authorship is one in the literary history of Scotland which some persons may consider to be of greater interest than even that of 'The Godlie Ballates,' I may add a few words on the subject. I do not apprehend that the name either of author or printer occurred in the book itself. The Harleian copy was probably obtained by Harley, Earl of Oxford, with other similar books relating to Scotland, from James Anderson, author of the 'Diplomata Scotiæ,' and it may have had the name of Wedderburn written on the title-page or fly-leaf. . . .

"The ordinary statements that the three brothers Wedderburn became exiles on account of religion, and the supposed time of their decease, seemed to place their claims out of the question. According to Johnston's verses, printed at page xxv, John Wedderburn, indeed, is said to have been driven into exile in 1546, and to have died in England in 1556. But these dates cannot be relied upon, as we know that he was in exile in 1539; and, after Cardinal Beaton's death in 1546, there was something like toleration in Scotland, which cannot

¹ Now admitted to have been printed in France, at Paris, or possibly at Rouen, as some other books published by Jascuy are known to have been. See Dickson and Edmond's 'Annals of Scottish Printing,' pp. 145, 195.

be said to have existed in England during the fires of persecution in Queen Mary's reign (1553 to 1558).¹ Mr Robert Wedderburn, Vicar of Dundee, having however survived till after the date of printing, leads me now to add that, notwithstanding some apparent discrepancies, by far the most probable conjecture is that he was the author of the 'Complaynt.' Indeed, from what has been stated above, as the Vicar, in 1553, was still alive, and officially connected with the Romish Church, I have little hesitation in assigning to Mr Robert Wedderburn, Vicar of Dundee, the credit of being the author of that remarkable production, 'The Complaynt of Scotland,' printed (at St Andrews) in 1549. In coming to this conclusion we have his residence in the vicinity of St Andrews, the general tone and character of the book, as conveying the sentiments of one who was perhaps inclined in his heart to be a Reformer, although retaining his connexion with the Romish Church, and who imitated Sir David Lyndsay in exposing (with a deal of pedantic learning) the prevailing abuses of the time; and more especially his familiarity with the popular literature of the time, while enumerating the names of songs, dances, &c., of which Dr Leyden mentions seven among those which Wedderburn himself is supposed to have 'metamorphosed' in the present collection of 'Gude and Godlie Ballates.'"

2. *From Maxwell's 'Old Dundee prior to the Reformation.'*

"Notwithstanding the force of these reasons, some authorities are unwilling to accept them as altogether conclusive. They may however, I think, be supported by others even stronger and more convincing. Dr Murray in the reprint of the 'Complaynt,' which he edited for the Early English Text Society, while unprepared to assign the authorship to any other person, and admitting that the book must have been written by a Churchman, contends that Wedderburn's claim cannot be substantiated, because one who had associated himself with Protestants in Paris, and had assisted in burning the great Cardinal's effigy, could not have been the writer of a book wherein the author shows himself a partisan of the French faction, of which the Cardinal was the hero, deals mildly with the errors of the clergy 'who sin against light,' and contents himself with giving them a

¹ Like other partisans of the English alliance, he would be tolerated by Henry VIII. in 1546, and during the whole of the reign of Edward VI. he would have more than toleration. Even Knox managed to stay on in England for a year after the death of Edward; and as an assured Scot, if he conducted himself quietly, John Wedderburn would be left alone. He had, as Johnston hints, offended the priests too deeply by his satires to get the benefit of any little toleration they allowed,* just as Knox had by his preaching in St Andrews Castle and association with the conspirators there.

* "Hinc nullum magis invisum caput hostibus."

general exhortation 'to repent their negligence and remedy their great abuson.' But this reason is certainly not conclusive, for Dr Murray might have much more forcibly said that one who had done these inimical acts toward the old Church could not afterwards have accepted a benefice in it; and yet we know that Wedderburn did so, and died Vicar of Dundee. He further urges against Wedderburn's claim that the book is partly written in the dialect prevalent in the South of Scotland, and that he was a native of the North. Now, although it may be found to contain some forms of words peculiar to the Southern dialect, I do not think that any substantial argument against the probability of its author having been born in Dundee and educated in Fife can thereon be founded. These places adjoin the southern division of the country, toward which their speech has a closer affinity than to that of the northern portion of the Lowlands; and we must bear in mind that Calderwood has told us that Wedderburn lived much with the laird of Calder in West Lothian, and therefore he must have been familiar with the speech of that district. On carefully looking over the Dundee Burgh Records, written at the same time as the 'Complaynt,' and mostly by the members of the Wedderburn family, it will be found—taking consideration of the wide diversity of subjects—that their language and that of the book show a decided correspondence, and the writing of both may be reasonably assigned to the same locality. Besides, it must be borne in mind that the common literary language used throughout Scotland during the sixteenth century was the southern, not the northern dialect. The frequent use of French words in the 'Complaynt,' which Mr Murray attributes to their prevalence in Scotland, may also in great measure be accounted for by the author's long residence in Paris."—Pp. 140, 141. "The wal at the world's end"—a tale which Robert Chambers has localised as prevalent only in Fife—used, however, to be also current in Dundee (p. 146), and, I may add, even farther north in Angus; and if the tale of the "reid etin" had passed out of remembrance, the name, as well as that of the "water-kelpie," was often used by nurses to frighten and quiet unruly children after nightfall.

The strongest proof, however, is unquestionably, as Maxwell states, that the scenery (pp. 145, 146) in the neighbourhood of Dundee—*i.e.*, between the Tay and the high grounds above it, the lovely valley of the Dichty¹ beyond them and the Sidlaws which shut in the view on

¹ Old Dundee, p. 145. The mills and bleachfields, now so numerous on its banks, have polluted its once pure and pellucid waters, and driven from it, even in May, "the pretty fysche with vermeil fynnis and skalis lyik the brycht silvyr"; but up to the end of last century, while bleachfields were fewer and their processes less noxious, the writers of the old statistical accounts of the parishes tell that there were still to be found in it, in spring, burn trouts and pike and perch of moderate size, and on its banks plenty of shady wood, rich green pastures, and yet undrained

the north—so closely corresponds with that described by the author in chap. vi., as also that encounter between the two vessels of war in the estuary, witnessed from the rising ground above the “Stanners,” and that no other district has yet been fixed on which at all closely corresponds, and where English warships were at that date so likely to be met as in the Firth by Broughty Castle. This struck me thirty years ago when first I read the book, and has been greatly confirmed by subsequent reperusals of it.

vi. JOHN WEDDERBURN, served heir to his father umq^{le}. JAMES WEDDERBURN, the poet.

(From Records of Burgh Court of Dundee.)

Curia ballivorum de Dundee tenta in pretorio eiusdem per Robertum Myles, Jacobum Lovell, Georgium Vyshart, et Georgium Spalding, ballivos dicti burghi tertio die mensis Novembris anno Dñi 1553.

Nomina Inquestus super breve Jhoannis Vedderburn.

James Scrymgeor.	Jhone Duncane.
Richart Blyt.	James Andersone.
James Rogch.	Robert Lovell.
Alex ^r . Fleschor.	David Ramsay.
Jhone Andersone.	Alexand ^r . Carnegie.

James Rollok, rob^ts. sone.

James Cheild.

Jhone Cowstone.

George Ventoun.

Thome Garden.

The quhilk day ye breif purchessit be Jhone Vedderburn as are to umq^{le}. James Vedderburn his father beand red in Jugement in ye presence of ye baillie, And ye Indorsacion y^r.of beand verifiet be Jhone Pautersone officiar executor of ye said breif wt. famous witness[is?] all persons & pties having interes oftymes callit, & nane comperit to object aganis ye service of ye said brief, quhervpon ye said Jhone Wedderburn askit act of court & Instrument. The quhilk day ye Inquest abone wrytine hes servit Jhone Wedderburn as are to his umq^{le}. father James Vedderburn burgess of Dundé, salvo jure cuiuslibet, be ye mowthe of James Scrymgeor^r, chancellor of ye said Inquest, And yerevpon ye said Jhone Wedderburn askit act and Instrument.

“boggis” and marshes. I have had two or three times occasion to express conclusions differing from those of Mr Maxwell, but I must now once for all express my grateful thanks for much kindness received at his hands in former times, as well as for the great pleasure I have derived from repeated perusals of his interesting and instructive volume on ‘Old Dundee before the Reformation.’

APPENDIX II.

GEORGE WISHART (p. xxxvii).

For a full account of this revered confessor and martyr I must refer my readers to Lorimer's 'Scottish Reformation,' Moffat Scott's 'Martyrs of Angus and Mearns,' Rogers' 'George Wishart,' my own lecture in the first series of St Giles' Lectures, and the corresponding lecture of my friend Dr Kidd in the United Presbyterian series of Lectures on the Scottish Reformation.¹ It seems now to be established beyond reasonable doubt that he was either the nephew of Sir James Wishart of Pittarrow, or a younger son by his wife, Elizabeth Learmonth, sister of Sir James Learmonth of Balcomie, who for many years was Provost of St Andrews. He was educated at King's College, Aberdeen, and took the degree of Master of Arts. From early years he seems to have been specially intimate with John Erskine, Laird of Dun and Provost of Montrose. In fact, the earliest notice we have of him is as M. Geo. Wishart, witnessing a charter granted by his friend Erskine at Montrose on 20th March 1534-35.² This leaves no doubt that he was then about Montrose, and lends confirmation to the tradition which Petrie—himself a native of Montrose—says he received from ancient men who in their youth had seen and known the Reformer, that then or soon after he acted as assistant or successor to Marsilier, whom Erskine had brought from France to teach Greek, and that he read the Greek New Testament with some of his pupils. For this, in 1538, he was delated to the Bishop of Brechin and summoned before him, but chose rather to flee than appear in answer to the summons. He found shelter under Bishop Latimer, whose diocese comprehended Gloucester and Bristol as well as Worcester, as his fellow-exiles Macchabæus and Fyffe(?) had previously done under Shaxton at Salisbury. Like them, on the passing of the statute of the Six Articles he fled to the Continent, and continued there for at least two years, spending the time chiefly in East Switzerland and the Rhinelands. The year 1543 he spent chiefly in Benet or Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, both studying and teaching. It is from Emery Tilney, his pupil there, that we have the fullest account of his appearance and habits; and in one of the stained-glass windows of the College, place has been given for a touching memorial of him. Above the arms of archbishops and nobles, distinguished *alumni* of the College, stands the name of George Wishart with the martyr's crown over it. A portrait of him is preserved in Blairs College, and another, deemed by Laing not un-

¹ As also the interesting account more recently given by my friend D. H. Fleming, Esq., in his 'Martyrs and Confessors of St Andrews.'

² Register of Great Seal, 1513-1546, p. 323.

worthy of Holbein, taken in 1543, *anno ætatis* thirty, is in possession of a descendant of the Wishart family.¹ Petrie and several of the later authorities place his return to Scotland in 1544, and for that and other reasons refuse to identify him with the "Scottishman named Wysshart" sent in April 1544 as envoy from Crichton of Brunstane to Hertford and Henry VIII., to give details of a plot to apprehend or slay the Cardinal. In addition to the reasons against identifying this envoy with the martyr adduced by the late Professor Weir in his able paper in the 'North British Review' for 1868, it has always appeared to me that an outlawed man who came down from England under protection, and always in his preaching tours travelled under protection,² was the last man likely to have been chosen for such a mission. And now it has been established beyond all doubt that there were not only other Wisharts more likely to have been chosen, but another George Wishart—a merchant, and ultimately a bailie in Dundee—who was a zealous and persistent supporter of the English alliance, and who, as Maxwell in his 'Old Dundee prior to the Reformation' (p. 92) says, allied himself with the unquiet spirits concerned in the plot, and who was afterwards accused of traitorous correspondence with those of them who seized the Castle of St Andrews and slew the Cardinal. He and his friends may have suspected the Reformer also to have been concerned in the plots, though they did not dare to charge him with it at his trial, and he himself in the most solemn manner asserted his innocence in his affecting address at the stake: "I beseech the Father of heaven to forgive them that have of any ignorance, or else of any evil mind, *forged lies* upon me. I forgive them with all my heart."

It is supposed that for a short time after his return to Scotland he lived quietly at Pittarrow, in the parish of Fordoun, where the shrine of St Palladius was preserved, and being an accomplished artist, occupied himself with adorning the ancestral mansion with several beautiful fresco paintings, which, after being long covered over by the wainscot, were again brought to light in the present century, but unfortunately were destroyed before their value was perceived. Dr Leslie of Fordoun, who saw them, has thus described the most remarkable of them: "Above the largest fireplace in the great hall was a painting of the city of Rome, and a grand procession going to St Peter's. The Pope, adorned with the tiara and mounted on horseback, was attended by a large company of cardinals on foot, richly dressed, but all uncovered. At a little distance, directly in front of the procession, stood a beautiful white palfrey, finely caparisoned,

¹ It is said to differ considerably from the one in Blairs College.

² Dr M'Crie in Note H., p. 15, in his 'Life of Knox,' gives the following excerpt from the Lord Treasurer's books: "Item (March 16, 1545-46), to summon the Laird of Ormiston to underlie the law in Edinburgh the xii of April next to cum, for resetting of Maister George Wisheart, *he being at the horn, &c.*"

held by some persons who were well dressed, but uncovered. Beyond them was the Cathedral of St Peter, the doors of which appeared to be open. Below the picture were written the following lines of covert sarcasm on the Pope :—

‘ IN PAPAM.

Laus tua non tua fraus, virtus non gloria rerum
Scandere te fecit hoc decus eximium ;
Pauperibus sua dat gratis nec munera curat
Curia Papalis, quod more percipimus.
Hæc carmina potius legenda, cancos imitando.’”

As Dr George Cook long ago surmised, the lines are not original. One evening, as I returned to Guildford Street after a long day in the British Museum, I had occasion to pass through Red Lion Square and the alley to the east of it, where I saw exposed in a pawnbroker's window a little antique volume in a very dilapidated state, opened at the page which contained these lines almost *verbatim*, and I at once purchased it, and on further examination I found it had been published at Basle in 1537 — *i.e.*, a few years before Wishart was there.

It may not be inappropriate as a conclusion to this note to state how far the organisation of the Reformed Church had by this time advanced in Scotland. Patrick Hamilton seems to me to have laboured to the last for the revival of Scriptural teaching and Christian living, within the Old Church rather than apart from her. Alesius, and some others of his disciples, were for a time reluctant to separate from her, if her rulers could have been persuaded seriously to set about repairing acknowledged evils and defects. But Wishart and those who came under his influence seem to have abandoned this struggle, and to have striven for the formation of a new organisation apart from the old one. He formed kirks or congregations at least in Montrose and Dundee—the former consisting probably mainly of the lesser gentry in the adjacent district of Angus and Mearns, and the latter chiefly of the substantial burghers of the town of Dundee. I suppose that some forms of discipline began to be put in practice in the Dundee congregation, and that it was on that account, as well as from the remarkable revival which had taken place under his ministrations, that the town came to be spoken of as “the Scottish Geneva.” The New Testament of Tyndale's translation had been introduced both there and in Montrose as early as 1526, and by this time the subsequent editions had been largely imported, and since 1543 might be openly read.¹ John Wedderburn was then in his native city, and I suppose by that date had published in its most rudimentary form his ‘Psalms and Spiritual Songs,’ largely translated

¹ Wedderburn and Wishart seem also to have been acquainted with Coverdale's Bible of 1535.

from the German. John Scott, the printer, was also there and under suspicion of the authorities in Edinburgh. Of the Psalms and Hymns, one, as I have already mentioned, bears unmistakable reference to the *pest* then infecting the town of Dundee; another was sung by Wishart the evening on which he was apprehended in East Lothian; a third is certainly referred to in the 'Complaynt of Scotland,' which, being published as early as 1549, is a guarantee for the earlier existence of the hymn.¹ This rudimentary collection of Psalms and Spiritual Songs was the book of praise in family and social gatherings of the Reformed, until the Genevan Psalter came into use, and no doubt the initial Catechism was in use also.² The earliest editions of it have perished. A nearly complete copy of the edition of 1567 has, however, been preserved, and now at last reprinted.

The translation of the First Helvetic Confession which Wishart made soon after his visit to the Continent, was no doubt meant as the Confession of the churches he formed, though it may only have been extant then in manuscript, and not published till 1548. That fragment of the Communion Office which was used by Knox in the administration of the Lord's Supper at Berwick in 1550, and perhaps had been used by him at St Andrews in 1547, and which was recently brought to light again by Dr Lorimer from among the MSS. in Dr Williams's library in London, was almost certainly derived from Wishart; for part of it is translated from the Office of the Church of Zürich, with which he could not fail to have become acquainted during his residence there, and part from other German offices, which were more likely to have fallen in his way (who had been a traveller on the Continent) than in Knox's. It may even have been used by Wishart in 1545 when he dispensed the communion in both kinds at Dun. The same may be said of that interesting burial service which purports to have been used in the kirk at Montrose, and has been reprinted in the 'Miscellany' of the Wodrow Society; though probably this, as we now have it, may not be the original form, but a recension of it, made later, under the auspices of Erskine of Dun, Superintendent of Angus and Mearns. The foundations of the superstructure that was to be were thus laid by Wishart. It was reserved to his successor to raise it, as the martyr had predicted it would be raised, even to the copestone.

¹ See preceding Introduction, p. xxxviii, note.

² It has been conjectured that the Catechism may even have been printed separately, and that the first part of the following entry in Dickson and Edmond's *Annals* may refer to it. The Catechisme, in two partes; the first in Scotis poetry, having a Kalendar before it; the second part in Latin and Scotis prose, entitled *Catechismus ecclesiæ, Geneuensis, &c.* Edinburgh: Imprintit by John Ross for Henry Charteris, 1574. The title as given above is from Herbert's edition of Ames, p. 1497.

APPENDIX III.

THE SPIRITUALISING OF SECULAR SONGS AND
APPROPRIATION OF THEIR TUNES¹ (p. lxi).

i. Extracts from 'Chansonnier Huguenot.'

"Un autre soin tout chrétien qu'ils [poètes Huguenots] prenaient était d'accommoder leurs pieuses chansons aux airs à la mode. Par là ils atteignaient doublement leur but : ils substituaient dans la mémoire publique des paroles d'édification à des vers licencieux, et la popularité de l'air servit à répandre au loin la bonne semence contenue dans les vers. Les chansons profanes leur fournissaient même souvent le thème de leurs vers ; il leur suffisait pour cela de jouer sur le sens des mots, et de tourner un modèle quelconque à la façon d'Eustorg de Beaulieu par exemple, qui de—

'Ma chère Dame ayez de moy mercy,'

faisait plus facilement du monde

'Mon Createur ayez de moy mercy
Et regardez mon cœur.'

Ces métamorphoses sont continuelles dans notre 'Chansonnier,' et chaque pièce y commence par le contraste assez piquant, qui se trouve entre son contenu et le thème ordinairement très-libre auquel elle se réfère."

Then it is stated that towards the end of the sixteenth century a new collection of spiritual songs appeared, none of which were satirical or polemical, and hardly any of them were borrowed from previous collections, and which, in place of borrowing the airs of worldly songs, had recourse for their music to the Psalms of Marot or Beza. Yet, by a happy contradiction, there stands at the commencement of the volume a preface which, after explaining at some length and in a very interesting manner the details briefly referred to above, clearly shows the religious spirit which found expression in all the

¹ This practice was not confined to the Netherlands in the century preceding the Reformation. Koch (vol. i. p. 214) says of Henry von Loufenberg, who was Dean of Freyburg, in Breisgau, about 1445, and was one of the most prolific hymn-writers of the century : "Zu seinem besten liedern gehören diejenigen in welchen weltliche Gesänge und namentlich bekannte Volkslieder, geistlich umdichtete, so-gennante 'contrafacta' oder geistliche Parodien." He, according to Miss Winkworth, "was the chief sacred poet of the fifteenth century in Germany, and furnished a large number of these transformations of secular into religious songs." More than eighty pages of Wackernagel's *Kirchenlied*, vol. ii., are occupied with his songs.

older collections, and traces back to an earlier time than the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the practice of appropriating secular tunes to religious and more worthy themes. From this preface we subjoin one or two extracts :—

“Theodoret, ancien théologien, raconte au 27^e chapitre du iv^e livre de son Histoire ecclésiastique, qu’environ le temps de Valentinian et de Valens, . . . un certain Harmonius composa des chansons profanes à la musique fort douce, dont plusieurs furent séduits et tirés à perdition. Mais Dieu, qui dès le commencement a tiré la lumière des ténèbres, suscita à ce même temps un excellent personnage nommé Ephraïm [Syrus] lequel, entre autres services notables qu’il fit à l’Eglise, y adjousta celui-ci, à sçavoir, qu’il changea la lettre méchante des chansons d’Harmonius, et y appliqua un sens spirituel et à louange de Dieu, remédiant (dit Theodoret) joyeusement et utilement au mal que poète lascif avoit fait. . . . Comme l’entreprise sainte d’Ephraïm succéda heureusement, et les chansons profanes qu’il changea tout à propos furent bien reçues des vrais chrétiens, alors la confusion estant tombée sur l’esprit de vanité et de mensonge, nous pouvons dire la mesme de ce qui est advenu depuis 60 ans en ça. L’ennemi de la sainte verité, sentant que Dieu vouloit ramener au jour une grande connoissance de l’Evangile, suscita en divers endroits, notamment en la France, des poètes qui commencèrent de semer, à l’exemple d’Harmonius, des chansons pleines de vanité, d’ordure, et d’impiété, auxquels les chantres adjoustèrent de la musique agréable aux oreilles, pour faire couler tout plus promptement et agréablement ceste poison jusques au cœur; et plus la verité se manifesta, plus le mensonge et l’orgueil du monde haussa le creste pour vomir ses puantises contre le trône du Fils de Dieu, lequel y a pourveu par sa sagesse et puissance ainsi que du temps d’Ephraïm. Et premièrement . . . il a voulu que celui qui avoit été des premiers à publier des chansons folles et lascives, venant à faire comme amende honorable devant tous les fidèles, ait mis heureusement la main à la traduction en vers françois d’une partie des . . . Pseaulmes de David, ayant esté secondé . . . par un autre excellent personnage.” The reference here of course is to Marot and Beza, whose early poems must fall under the same condemnation, and of whose later poems the editor of the ‘Chansonnier’ does not hesitate to say, “On ne sçaurait dire combien ce labeur a fait de fruit, et convertit d’âmes à Dieu, qui par avant ne pensoient qu’au monde.” And even as the Scottish poet’s ditty “Welcum, Fortoun, welcum againe,” was transformed into the hymn “Welcum, Lord Christ, welcum againe,” so one of Marot’s lighter pieces—

“Adieu amours, adieu gentil corsage,
Adieu ce teint, adieu ces rians yeux,
Je n’ay pas eu de vous grand avantage,
Ung moins aimant aura peut-être mieux”—

was transformed by a Huguenot poet into—

“ Adieu la chair, adieu mondain servage,
Adieu, vous dy, monde pernicieux,
Je n’ay pas eu de vous grand avantage,
Du Seigneur Dieu j’espère beaucoup mieux.”

— ‘Le Chansonnier Huguenot du xvi. siècle,’
pp. xxxii-xxxvii.

ii. Extract from Dr M’Crie’s Note on the influence of Poetry in promoting the Reformation (‘Life of Knox,’ pp. 324, 325, ed. 1855):—

“In every Protestant country a metrical version of the Psalms, in the vernacular language, appeared at a very early period. The French version, begun by Clement Marot, and completed by Beza, contributed much to the spread of the Reformation in France. The Psalms were sung by Francis I. and Henry II. and by their courtiers. The Catholics flocked for a time to the assemblies of the Protestants to listen to their psalmody (Bayle, ‘Dictionnaire,’ art. “Marot,” Notes N, O, P). At a later period Cardinal Châstillon proposed to the papal ambassador, as the best method for checking the progress of heresy, that his holiness should authorise some ‘good and godly’ songs to be sung by the French,—‘cantar alcune cose in lingua Francese, le quali pero fossero parole buone et sante, et prima approvate de sua Beatitudine’ (Lettres de St Croix : Aymons, *ut supra*, tom. i. pp. 7, 9, 11). It has been said that there was a Scottish version of the Psalms at a very early period (Dalyell’s ‘Cursory Remarks,’ p. 35).¹ It is more certain that, before the year 1546, a number of the Psalms were translated in metre; for George Wishart sung one of them in the house of Ormiston, on the night in which he was apprehended (Knox, ‘Historie,’ p. 49). The two lines quoted by Knox answer to the beginning of the second stanza of the fifty-first Psalm, inserted in ‘Scotish Poems of the Sixteenth Century,’ p. III [pp. 119, 120 of this edition]. They were commonly sung in the assemblies of the Protestants, in the year 1556 (Knox, p. 96). John and Robert Wedderburn, brothers to the poet of that name mentioned above, appear to have been the principal translators of them (Cald. MS., i. 108, 109) [History, vol. i. pp. 141-143, Wodrow Society’s edition]. The version was not completed; and at the establishment of the Reformation it was supplanted in the churches by the version begun

¹ There seems to be some real foundation for this statement. At least a MS. of such a version of the Psalms is preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, but, from the specimen-transcript sent me of the first and twenty-third Psalms, I am inclined to think that it must have been executed not later than the fifteenth century. Another version, but a prose one, contained in a MS. Latin Psalter, supposed to belong to the fourteenth or early fifteenth century, has just been offered for sale among the MSS. of the late Sir Thos. Phillips. Both of these MSS. possibly have some such relation to the MSS. of the metrical and prose translations of Richard Rolle as the Amherst Gospels have to those of the Wyclif translation.

by Sternhold and Hopkins, and finished by the English exiles at Geneva [and others in England and Scotland].

"But the most singular measure adopted for circulating the Reformed opinions in Scotland was the composition of 'Gude and godly Ballates, changed out of prophaine sanges, for avoyding of sinne and harlotrie.' John and Robert Wedderburn were the chief authors of this work also (Cald. *ut supra*; Row's 'Hist. of the Kirk,' p. 4). The title sufficiently indicates their nature and design. The air, the measure, the initial line, or the chorus of the ballads most commonly sung by the people at that time, were transferred to hymns of devotion. Unnatural, indelicate, and gross as this association appears to us, these spiritual songs edified multitudes in that age. We must not think that this originated in any peculiar depravation of taste in our reforming countrymen. Spiritual songs constructed upon the same principle were common in Italy (Roscoe's 'Lorenzo de Medici,' vol. i. p. 309, 4to). At the beginning of the Reformation the very same practice was adopted in Holland as in Scotland. 'The Protestants first sung in their families and private assemblies the psalms of the noble lord of Nievelte, which he published in 1540, "ut homines ab amatoriis, haud raro obscœnis, aliisque vanis canticis, quibus omnia in urbibus et vicis personabant, avocaret. Sed quia modulationes vanarum cantionum (alias enim homines non tenebant) adhibuerat,"' &c. (Gisberti Voetii 'Politica Ecclesiastica,' tom. i. p. 534; Amstælod., 1663, 4to). Florimond de Remond objected to the Psalms of Marot, that the airs of some of them were borrowed from vulgar ballads. A Roman Catholic version of the Psalms in Flemish verse, printed at Antwerp by Simon Cock, in 1540, has the first line of a ballad printed at the head of every psalm (Bayle, 'Dict.,' art. "Marot," Note N). The spiritual songs of Colletet, although composed a century after our 'Godly Ballates,' were constructed on still more exceptionable models. 'Et moy, Monsieur,' says Mons. Jurieu, 'je vous feray voir, quand il vous plaira, les cantiques spirituels de Colletet imprimés à Paris, chés Antoine de Raffé, avec privilege du Roy, de l'an 1660. Livre curieux, où vous trouverés des Noëls sur le chant de ce vaudeville infame qui commence, *Il faut chanter une histoire de la femme d'un manant*, &c., le reste est un conte scandeleux autant qu'il y en ait dans le Satyricon de Petrone. Vous en trouverés un autre sur l'air de ces paroles libertines d'une chanson de l'opéra,—

"A quoy bon tant de raison, dans un bel aage."

Un autre sur ce vaudeville impudent,—

*"Allés vous
Un galant tout nouveau," &c.*

Dès le temps de Henri II. parce que toute la Cour chantoit les Pseaumes de Marot, le Cardinal de Lorraine jugea que, pour arrester

un si grand désordre, il seroit très edifiant de faire tourner des odes d'Horace en rime François, pour nourrir la piété de cette cour si devote.' ('Apologie pour les Réformateurs,' &c., tom. i. 129, 4to; à Rotterdam, 1683.)"

iii. The Glassites, in the last half of last century, seem to have made much more questionable use of this practice than even the Bereans, to whom I have already referred in this Introduction. My friend Mr Hutcheson¹ of Herschel House, Broughty Ferry, informs me that a collection of 'Christian Songs' was published in Dundee—their headquarters—"the tunes of which were mostly those of popular Scottish and English songs, such as 'Roslin Castle,' 'Gilderoy,' 'Bonnie Jean,' 'Logan Water,' 'Gallant Graham,' 'Birks of Invermay,' 'The Flowers of the Forest,' 'The Yellow-haired Laddie,'" &c., &c.; and he gives me as a specimen the first two verses of Song xciii., Rev. xix. 16. *Tune*, "Carle an' the King comes"—

1. "When the King of Kings comes,
When the King of Kings comes;
We shall have a joyful day,
When the King of Kings comes.
2. We'll see the righteous cause prevail,
And all debates decided well,
And all mouths stopped which lies do tell,
When the King of Kings comes"—

and a verse from Song lxxvii., descriptive of the better country to which the Flowers of the Forest have been transplanted:—

"No pains there remaining, nor cause of complaining,
But pleasures unbounded shall flow ever there;
What eye hath not seen, nor our thought can attain,
True, lasting, and glorious beyond all compare."

Mr A. C. Lamb, so well known as a collector of rare books, has since kindly forwarded to me two copies of these Christian Songs, the one, bearing to be the fifth edition, published in Dundee in 1775, and the other, being a later edition, published in 1875, and accompanied with the secular tunes to which the Christian Songs were adapted. For this—the last of many favours, received from him shortly before his so sudden and deeply lamented death—my grateful acknowledgments are due, as are those of all who take an interest in the history of his native city for his magnificent folio with its splendid photogravures of the Quaint and Historic buildings of Dundee and its Neighbourhood.

¹ Mr Hutcheson has found the tune of the secular ballad, "Johne, cum kis me now," in the Panmure MS. of the seventeenth century, but in a sol-fa notation which is not identical with that at present in use.

APPENDIX IV. (p. lxxii).

COVERDALE'S GOOSTLY PSALMES AND SPIRITUALL
SONGES.

On 31st May 1884 there appeared in the 'Academy' a letter, by Mr Herford, intimating that he had found that eighteen of Coverdale's hymns were translations from the German, and all of them from hymn books published by 1529. In the number of the 'Academy' for 21st June there followed a letter from Mr Mearns, one of the collaborators of Mr Julian on the 'Dictionary of Hymnology,' intimating that he had found that not only the eighteen enumerated by Mr Herford, but eighteen of the others, could be traced to similar sources, but not identifying them by title or first line, as Mr Herford had done with the first eighteen. In the number for next week there appeared a letter from myself intimating that all, save possibly the last of the forty-one hymns, might be traced to German originals or *prototypes*; "for Coverdale, like Wedderburn, at times imitates rather than closely translates, merely preserving the stanza and tune, and a certain amount of general resemblance to the original." I expressed my satisfaction to find an Englishman at last calling attention to the origin of Coverdale's hymns, to which, in 1867, I had sought to direct attention, and to express my regret that the editor of the reprint of Coverdale's works for the Parker Society had not adverted to this, even though including, in his biographical sketch, the statement of Bishop Bale that Coverdale had translated into English 'Psalterium Joannis Campensis,' lib. i., and 'Cantiones Wittenbergensium,' lib. i. The first hymn in the collection, which its contents clearly show to have been intended for use before sermon, was one of several hymns to the Holy Spirit, which, as Coverdale mentions in his account of the order of the Church in Denmark and other countries reformed, it was customary to sing before sermon. The nearest approximation to it, both in stanza and contents, on which I have as yet come, is "Ein Gesang vor anfang der Kinder-predig," given in Wackernagel's 'Deutsches Kirchenlied,' vol. iii. No. 674; but various local hymnals of that century contain hymns intended for this purpose which are not included even in Wackernagel's latest collection. The first lines of the subsequent hymns and of their German originals or prototypes were given substantially as below, but the numbers were almost all taken from Wackernagel's earlier edition of 1841, which for long I had used; and here I give them from the later edition of 1870, as that is now more used, though his 'Bibliographie' of 1855 has never yet been reissued, with numbers for the hymns corresponding to those of the later edition of his 'Kirchenlied.'

COVERDALE.

WACKERNAGEL, vol. iii.

- | No. | | No. | |
|-----|--|------|---|
| 1 | O holy Spirite, our Comfortoure. | 684 | Herr Gott, dein trüw mit gnaden <i>Zwick.</i>
leist. |
| 2 | Come, holy Spirite, most blessed Lord. | 19 | Kom, heyliger geyst, herre Gott. <i>Luther.</i> |
| 3 | Thou holy Spirite, we pray to thé. | 28 | Nu bitten wyр den heyligen geyst. " |
| 4 | God the Father, dwell us by. | 24 | Got der Vatter won uns bey. " |
| 5 | These are the holy commaundments
ten. | 22 | Dys synd die heyl'gen zehн gebot. " |
| 6 | Man, wilt thou live vertuously. | 26 | Mensch, wiltu leben seliglich. " |
| 7 | We beleve all upon one God. | 16 | Wir gleüben all an einen Gott. " |
| 8 | In God I trust, for so I must. | 56 | In Gott gelaub ich dass er hat. <i>Speratus.</i> |
| 9 | O Father ours celestial. | 592 | Ach ! Vater unser, der du bist. <i>Moibanus.</i> |
| 10 | O our Father celestial. | 594 | Vater unser, der du bist. |
| 11 | Be glad now, all ye Christen men. | 2 | Nu frewt euch lieben Christen <i>Luther.</i>
gmein. |
| 12 | Now is oure helth come from above. | 55 | Es ist das heyl uns kommen her. <i>Speratus.</i> |
| 13 | Christ is the onlie Sonne of God. | 67 | Herr Christ der eynig Gotts son. <i>Creutziger.</i> |
| 14 | In the myddest of our lyvyng. | 12 | Mytten wir yn leben synd. <i>Luther.</i> |
| 15 | By Adam's fall was so forlorne. | 71 | Durch Adams fal ist gantz verderbt. <i>Spengler.</i> |
| 16 | Wake up, wake up, in God's name. | 83 | Wach auff in Gottes name. <i>Sachs.</i> |
| 17 | I call on thé, Lord Jesu Christe. | 79 | Ich ruff zu dir, her Jesu Christ. <i>Agricola.</i> |
| 18 | Now blessed be thou, Christ Jesu. | 9 | Gelobet seystu, Iesu Christ. <i>Luther.</i> |
| 19 | Christe is now rysen agayne. | | Christ ist erstanden. |
| 20 | Christ dyed and suffred great payne. | 15 | Christ lag in todes banden. <i>Luther.</i> |
| 21 | To God the hyghest be glory alwaye. | 616 | Allein Gott in der höhe sey ehr. <i>Decius (or</i>
<i>Hovesch).</i> |
| 22 | My soul doth magnyfie the Lord. | 869 | Mein seel erhebt den Herren mein. <i>Pollio.</i> |
| 23 | With peace and with joyfull gladnesse. | 25 | Mit frid und freud ich far do hin. <i>Luther.</i> |
| 24 | Helpe now, O Lorde, and loke on us. | 3 | Ach Gott von hymel syhe darein. " |
| 25 | Werfore do the heithen now rage thus. | 854 | Ir haiden was tobt ir umsonst. <i>Aberlin.</i> |
| 26 | Oure God is a defence and towre. | [735 | Warum thobt doch der Heyden
hauff.] |
| 27 | Except the Lorde had bene with us. | 32 | Ain feste burg ist unser Gott } <i>Luther and</i>
608 Gott unser stärk und zuversicht } <i>Heyden.</i> |
| 28 | At the ryvers of Babilon. | | Wär Gott nicht mit uns dise zeit. <i>Luther.</i> |
| 29 | Blessed are all that feare the Lorde. | [97 | Wo der Herre nicht bey uns wer. <i>Sachs.]</i> |
| 30 | Blessed are all that feare the Lorde. | 135 | An wasserflüssen Babilon. <i>Dachstein.</i> |
| 31 | O Lorde God, have mercy on me. | 8 | Wol dem, deryn Gottesfurcht steht. <i>Luther.</i> |
| 32 | O God be mercyfull to me. | 602 | Wol dem, der den Herren fürchtet. |
| 33 | Out of the depe crye I to thé. | 120 | O Herre Gott, begnade mich. <i>Greiter.</i> |
| 34 | I lyft my soule, Lorde up to thé. | 70 | Erbarm dich meyn, O Herre Gott. <i>Hegenwald.</i> |
| 35 | God be mercyfull unto us. | 5 | Auss tieffer not schrey ich zu dir. <i>Luther.</i> |
| 36 | The foolish wicked men can saye. | | Herr, Ich erheб mein seel zu dir. <i>Kolrose (?)</i> |
| 37 | Prayse thou the Lorde, Hierusalem. | | Von allen menschen abgewandt. <i>[Knöpfen.]</i> |
| 38 | Beholde and sé, forget not this. | 7 | Es wolt uns Gott genädig sein. <i>Luther.</i> |
| 39 | O Christ, that art the lyght and daye. | 4 | Es spricht der unweisen mund wol. " |
| 40 | O heavenly Lord, thy godly word. | 625 | Hierusalem des loven stadt. <i>Decius.</i> |
| 41 | Let go the whore of Babilon. | 1132 | Nun sich wie fein und lieblich ist. <i>Huber.</i> |
| | | 645 | Christ, du byst lycht und de dach. |
| | | 163 | O Herre Gott, dein göttlichs wort. |
| | | 481 | Zu Rom ist umbgefallen die Braut
von Babilon (?). |

"This last piece," I said, "has a resemblance in stanza and ring to the German one I have named, and to several other similar pieces given by Wackernagel; but I regard it as being more of native origin, and having considerable resemblance in form and matter to several of the English satirical ballads of the time of the Reformation.

"Coverdale, as Mr Herford observes, 'was almost devoid of the lyric faculty'; his translations are generally very prosaic. This, I take it, is the main reason why his book never got hold of his countrymen, or passed, so far as is known, through more than one edition. The Scotch Book was not less fiercely denounced and proscribed; but its author had more lyric faculty, and his work got hold of the hearts of the people, and was prized and guarded by them. It maintained its hold for nearly three-quarters of a century, and passed through several editions. The four best hymns in Coverdale are four which are found also in the Scotch Book—viz., the translation of 'Herr Christ der einig Gotts Sohn,' of 'Ich ruf' zu dir Herr Ihesu Christ,' and those of Ps. lxxvii. and of the Magnificat. Who was the author of these four translations I do not venture to determine. Possibly both Coverdale and Wedderburn got them from some one else; but, if they came from either, I think Wedderburn has the best claim. Coverdale was not the only exiled Englishman who sought to conciliate the regards of his countrymen to the German hymnology. Some of Robert Wisdom's Psalms and Hymns are from the German, though, like our author's, they are rather prosaic. Bishop Cox's version of Luther's hymn on the Lord's Prayer is much more spirited, and held its place longer in the old Scottish as well as in the old English Psalter. Capito's hymn, 'Gib fried zu unser zeyt, O Herr,' was also translated into English [and would seem to have been known in Scotland too, for, with its appropriate tune, it is included in one of the parts of Wood's MS. book of tunes of 1566, now preserved in the Library of the University of Edinburgh].

"When Coverdale's book was published is a question still undetermined. In the first edition of Foxe's 'Acts and Monuments' it is included in a list of books said to have been prohibited in 1539; but the list was withdrawn from subsequent editions of the 'Acts' published by Foxe. Townsend, in his edition published by Seeley, has restored it, but under the year 1546, to which, from the entry in Bonner's Register, it is clear that it belonged (see Townsend's edition of Foxe's book, vol. v. pp. 565, 566, and Appendix No. xviii.) All that one seems warranted to conclude, therefore, is, that it was published by the year 1546, probably after its author had fled from England [1540], and become teacher and minister at Bergzabern, in the Upper Palatinate. Two or three of the hymns translated by him only make their appearance in [High] German hymn-books between 1539 and 1543, according to Wackernagel ['Kirchenlied,' 1541]."

With my letter of June 1884 the correspondence in the 'Academy'

on the relation of Coverdale's hymns to those of Luther and his contemporaries came to an end. But in his remarkably able and interesting volume of 'Studies on the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century,' published in 1886, Mr Herford reverted to the correspondence, in a spirit more jaunty than the circumstances seemed to me to warrant. It needed no formal assurance from him to satisfy me that his conclusions as to the eighteen hymns, enumerated in his letter, were arrived at independently and without any knowledge of my little book of 1867, or even of Mr Laing's more widely known book of 1868. His case in these respects very much resembled my own. For, as mentioned in the introduction to that book, it was only after the text of it had been printed off that I heard incidentally of another little book published in London "by a clergyman,"¹ which (without giving any details save as to Dachstein's cxxxvii. Psalm) stated that the hymns of Luther and his friends were imitated in various countries, and among others in England and Scotland, and that the stanzas in which the hymns and songs of Wedderburn and Coverdale were composed still attested the native country of the original hymns; and it was not till some years later that I became aware that a learned minister of another Scottish Church had, though more hesitatingly, made a similar statement. My investigations were completed before I knew of these things, and my object had been not merely to make a general statement to the same effect, but chiefly to find the several hymns, and to trace out in detail the resemblances between the German, the English, and the Scottish, as shown in them.

In regard to Mr Herford's book, my position was somewhat like his own in regard to mine. It was first brought under my notice by a reference made to it in Professor Jacob's treatise on the 'Lutheran Movement in England during the Reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.,' and I immediately began to peruse it with much interest. By the time it was published Mr Herford had satisfied himself, not only that the eighteen hymns of Coverdale, which he had traced to German originals in 1884, but also all the rest, save five or six, might be traced to similar sources, and that though the German originals had not all been published by 1529, they had all appeared in one or other of the Lutheran hymnals by 1531,² and particularly in the Erffurdt 'Enchiridion' and the 'Walterische Gesangbuch' of that year. He gives a detailed list of them, in which, no doubt inadvertently, he minimises the number I had correctly traced out, and magnifies the slips I had made in that little book of 1867. With it before him he charges as errors of mine, what, so far as errors at all, were those of Wackernagel

¹ It was not till the following spring that this clergyman made himself known to me, and proved to be, not an Anglican cleric, but a venerable and widely respected minister of the National Church of Scotland—the Rev. Dr Walker of Kinnell.

² Appendix I., p. 399.

in his 'Kirchenlied' of 1841, the only edition which at that date was accessible to students of this subject; and the dates he challenges were expressly taken by me from Wackernagel's volume.¹ He credits me with having been before him in identifying five of the hymns of Coverdale. But if he had perused the book with care, he would have found that not five only, but ten at least,⁷ of Coverdale's hymns had either directly or indirectly been traced in my book to German sources.² He frankly admits that all the others mentioned in my letter of 1884, save five or six, are probably correctly traced by me to their sources; and it was some consolation to me to find that when Mr Mearns's list came to be published in the 'Dictionary of Hymnology' in 1892, it so nearly coincided with my own. Mr Herford somewhat positively affirms that the five or six remaining hymns are either from the Latin or are original. He does not condescend, however, to name more than one of the Latin hymns which might be regarded as the originals, and if the 'Dictionary of Hymnology' seems at p. 227 to coincide, it is only as to this one—viz., "Christe qui lux es." Mr Mearns, however, at p. 443, suggests a German version of it, and Mr Herford himself admits that the English translation was probably not independent of the German version. Of course it was not, for where could Coverdale have got the expression *the feynde* as the rendering of the Latin *hostis* but from the *der viendt* of the German hymn? Just as in another of his hymns his lines, "His owne deare Sonne, and mercy troane," even if they stood alone, would suffice to prove dependence on "Sein lieben Sohn, der gnaden Thron." In regard to some others of these five, my critic confidently pronounces Mitchell's identifications of them to be "untenable." But as to the general question of the derivation of the whole collection, either by translation or by imitation of the stanza and measure, from the German, Mr Leigh Bennet, the author of the article on the "Goostly Psalmes" in the 'Dictionary of Hymnology,' says (p. 442), "It is extremely probable that the whole book is translated from German originals"; and Professor Jacobs, while admitting that he has not been able satisfactorily to identify seven of them, says (p. 124) that "their entire

¹ Studies, p. 401. The hymns are, N. Boie's "O Gott wir dancken" and Bonn's "O wir armen Sünder," both of which in the 'Kirchenlied' of 1841 are ascribed, as they were by me, to the year 1543; but in the 'Kirchenlied' of 1870 the former is assigned to 1541, while as to the latter the 'Kirchenlied' of 1870 (p. 736) still ascribes it to the year 1543, so that, as to it, not Mitchell but Herford "is wrong," as he is also in calling the author of "Nun hörend zu" Heinrich Witzstadt instead of Hans Witzstadt, as Wackernagel does.

² These are: p. iv, Ps. cxxxvii., *Dachstein*; p. 29, "Gloria in excelsis," *Decius*; p. 34, Ps. cxxx., *Luther*; pp. 49, 73, "Lord God, Thy face," &c.; p. 43, Ps. cxxiv.; p. 50, "Christ is the only Sonne," &c., *Creutziger*; p. 51, Ps. lxvii., *Luther*; p. 51, Magnificat, *Pollio*; p. 52, "Nunc Dimittis," *Luther*; Ps. xi., *Luther*; p. 75, "I call on the Lord Jesu," ascribed doubtfully in 'Kirchenlied' of 1841 to *Speratus*, now to *Agricola*. Another Scot in January 1884 claimed to have traced thirteen.

structure and spirit plainly shew where they belong." As to the five which he has not identified, Mr Mearns does not commit himself to more than that the resemblance in the German hymns I have suggested is very slight. But there remains at least the stanza, measure and tune, as Mr Leigh Bennet has said, as well as my own statement that Coverdale at times rather imitates than translates. In answer to Mr Herford's more positive statements of dissent I reply, as to Hymn i., that it contains *in gremio* unmistakable evidence that it is one of a class very common both in Germany and Denmark in the sixteenth century, entreating from God the Father or the Holy Ghost a special blessing on the preaching of the Word¹; and I challenge him to produce from the whole range of Latin hymnology a hymn containing the slightest resemblance to the following verse, which is found in somewhat similar terms in several of these German hymns sung before the preaching of the Word :—

“ Nowe seyng we are come together,
To heare the wordes of verite ;
In understandynge be thou guyder,
That we may folowe the voyce of thé,
From straunge lernynge, Lorde, kepe us fre,
That we thorowe them be not begyled :
Kepe our understandynge undefyled.”

As to Hymn xxxiv., traced by me doubtfully to Kolrose's version of Psalm xxiv., he makes two assertions—1st, That “there is no resemblance” (p. 17). I give the first stanza below as sufficient disproof of this.² 2nd, That it was first published in the Froschover Psalter of 1550 (Wackernagel says 1560), but let that pass, for he will find in Wackernagel's ‘Bibliographie’ of 1855, p. 159, that in the Froschover book of 1540 the first line of a version of this psalm is given in a

¹ Luther first introduced this reference in his version of ‘Veni Sancte Spiritus,’ and, in the earliest Danish hymn-book, there is not only a close translation of Luther's hymn in three stanzas, but also an enlarged translation in five stanzas, further extending his reference to the preaching of the Word, throughout the whole of the second stanza (pp. 50, 51). His brother-in-law's translation of the Danish, when Coverdale was with him in Denmark, may be the origin of his second stanza to the same effect.

² COVERDALE.

I lyft my soule, Lorde, up to the,
My God, I trust on the alone ;
Let me never confounded be,
My enemys els wyll mocke me soone.
They shall not be shamed that trust on
the ;
But they that scornfull despysers be,
Those shall be put to confusyon.”

KOLROSE.

Herr, ich erhebe min seel zu dir,
Min Gott, vff dine güte
Hoff ich allein, vsz hertze bgir,
vor schand du mich behüte,
Damit nit mine fyend sich
erfröwend allzyt über mich ;
dann keiner wirdt zu schanden
Der vff dich harrt, schendst aber die
welche on vrsach schmähend hie
din volck in allen landen.

form which closely resembles Kolrose's.¹ Further, Kolrose's German was but one of two I had suggested as the possible original of Coverdale's version. The other was Knöpken's High German version of the psalm, which in the 'Kirchenlied' of 1541 was given without the author's name, but in the later 'Kirchenlied' was assigned to him, and stated to have first appeared in Schuman's 'Gesangbuch' of 1539, and which has been given also by Mr Mearns. Knöpken, like Coverdale, follows the Vulgate numeration and calls it Psalm xxiv. As to Hymn xxxvii.—that is, Psalm cxlvi. according to the Vulgate notation, cxlvii. according to the Hebrew—a resemblance seems to be admitted by Mr Herford. As to Hymn xxxviii.—that is, Psalm cxxxii. according to the Vulgate notation, cxxxiii. according to the Hebrew—I now find that there were shorter and earlier German versions of it than Huber's, though the latter, if the references to Christ and Christianity are left out, is pretty close to Coverdale's.² Translations of the psalm appeared at an early date both in Danish and Swedish hymn-books, and below I give part of one from the German hymn-book of 1537,³ repeatedly consulted by me in the

¹ "Zu dir min seel, Herr, sich erhebt."

² COVERDALE.

Beholde and se, forget not this,
How joyfull and pleasaunt a thyng it is,
Brethren to dwell all together,
And to be of one mynde ever.
For they are lyke that precious unction,
Which, beyng powred on the head of
 Aaron,
Ran in his bearde, into Aaron's bearde,
And to his skirtes it descended.

This brotherly love is so noble vertue,
That it is lykened unto the dew,
Which fell on the hyll of Hermon,
And on the fayre hyll of Sion.
For there the Lorde gave his blessynge,
And shewed his lyfe everlastynge.
So where as love is unfayned,
There is the Lorde's blessynge in dede.

³ COVERDALE.

Prayse thou the Lorde, Hierusalē,
Prayse thou thy God, O Sion :
For all thy strength stondest whole in
 hym ;
He barreth and kepeth thy gates alone,

WALDIS.

Sihe wie fein und lieblich ist,
das mit ainander wohnen : | :
Die brüder, ohn all arge list,
so singt den Prophet frone,
Als fluss ein gute salbe zu,
herab wol inn den bard Aron,
Auff den som * seiner Klaider.

Als wann der thaw Hermon abfloss
und die berg Zion übergoss,
David der psalliert weyter.
Dann daselbst gebeüt der Herr
seggen und leben ymmer : | :
Und ewiglich das wir ihn schwer
sollen vergessen nimmer.

From Waldis's *Der Gantz Psalter*,
Zürich, 1537.

WALDIS.

Jerusalem den Herrn preiss
Lobe Zion dein Got mit fleiss
Er macht fest deinr thorrigel : | :

* *I.e.*, saum.

British Museum. As to Hymn xxv.—that is, Psalm ii.—a specimen of the affinities between it and No. 735—a modified recension of Ludvig Oeler's German version—may be found in the note at p. 256. This now seems to me nearer to Coverdale's than Aberlin's version. With respect to Hymn xli., I admitted in my letter of 1884 that the case was more doubtful. There is no lack of hymns of a similar cast in German besides the two I mentioned, and two or three of them founded on Revelation xviii.; but in the details there is not much resemblance. There seems to me more affinity with some of the productions of William Roy and a rare ballad attributed to William Kethe, though I cannot confidently assert that the latter is of earlier date than Coverdale's. The following is the title of Kethe's ballad as given by Payne Collier in his 'Bibliographical and Critical Account of the rarest Books in the English Language,' vol. i. p. 424: "A Ballet declaringe the fal of the whore of babylon intytuled Tye thy mare tom boye w^t other, and there vnto anexid a prologe to the reders. Apocalyps xviii. Alas, alas that great syty babylon which was clothed in Rayes purpel and skarlet and decked with gold precyous stones and perells for at one howre is her iudgement come and her grate ryches brought to naught" (8vo, B. L., 16 *leaves*). He has a very verbose and tedious introduction to the "ballet," and

Endewyng thy chyldrē in the
With goodly gyftes plēteously.
He doth endewe thy borders all
Rounde about the with peace and rest:
His provision for the is not small;
With wheate he feadeth the of the best.
He sendeth his worde into the earth;
Swyftly renneth his commaundement
forth.

Und segnet deine kind darinn
Er schafft dein grentzen frid mit gewinn,
Und settiget dich von himel.
Mit dem besten waytzen furwar,
Und sendt sein red auff erden zwar.
Sein wort thut gantz schnell lauffen,

Lyke woll doth he cast downe the snowe,
Scatrynge the frost like as ashes;
Lyke morsels of bread his haile doth he
throwe,
That no man maye byde the coldnesse;
With a worde meltyng them all agayne,
And leadeth his wynde backe to geve
rayne;
So droppe the waters downe with moyst-
nesse.
This same is he that tolde ryght well
His pleasures to Jacob, his deare frende;
His lawes and decrees to Israell,
That they myght kepe them in theyr
mynde.

Er gibt schnee wie wolle gemein,
Er strewt reiffen wie äschen fein,
Überalhin mit hauffen.
Er wirfft sein schlossen wie bissen,
Wer kan vor sainem frost bleiben,
Er sendet sein wort bhende: | :
Und zerschmelzet sy gantz und gar,
Er lasst seinen wind kommen zwar,
So fliessen wasser gschwinde,
Er zaigt Jacob sein wort schlecht,
Israel sein sitten und recht,
Alles durch seinen namen,
So thut er der haiden nit kund,
Noch lasst sy wissen seinen bund."

With no nacyon hath he dealte thus,
Nor bene to them so gracious,
His godly worde them for to sende.

—From Waldis's *Der Gantz Psalter*,
Zürich, 1537.

when he comes to the latter he begins with the words of the ballad on which it was a parody :—

“ Ty the mare, tom boy,” &c.

“ This Kethe makes also the burden of his own effusion ; but he does not add it at the end of his stanzas, leaving it, as usual, to be supplied by the singer or reader. His first stanza, which, we may be sure, nearly followed the form of the original, is this :”—

“ Now, good tom, bestirre thee ;
This mare loke thou wake her,
And do nothing fere thé,
But boldely go take her :
For some will outwere thé,
Do not now forsake her :
A rope for her beare thé,
That comme thou mayst take her,
And ty her, good tom boy.”

“ Comme,” in the second last line, Mr Collier thinks should probably be read “ homme,” meaning home. The following is the stanza which he gives from the body of the “ ballet ” as a specimen of its spirit and contents :—

“ O unshamfaste harlot !
So proudly arayed.
In purple and scarlet,
Thou art now dismayed,
Of every varlot.
Thou madeste vs afrayde :
God’s worde, our true marlot,
Hath thé now bewrayed.
Ty the mare, tom boy.”

It seems to me simply impossible, if Coverdale had published this xli. ballad at any time between 1535 and 1539, that his residence in England would any more have been tolerated by the king than that of Roy and Barlow,¹ nor would Cromwell have ventured to employ him as he did. Besides, as I have once and again shown, several of the psalms and one or two of the hymns, versified by him, did not make their appearance in High German hymn-books till 1539. One can hardly suppose he got them immediately on their publication, or made any acquaintance with them till after he went abroad in 1540 ; nor can one suppose that even then he made a collection of German hymn-books, Low as well as High, but that he found what he wanted in one or two of those used in the district where he had his residence, and therefore in one or two printed not earlier than 1539 - 1540. The

¹ There cannot be much doubt that the Wedderburns and the authors of the satirical poems in the second part of their book were acquainted with the trenchant productions of these authors, and probably Coverdale was so too.

Strassburg Hymn-books, I am assured, were the first used in Würtemberg, as well as throughout the Palatinate. But the Wittenberg Hymn-book seems also to have been used in some of the churches, and I have no doubt he would have access to it also at Wittenberg, where his brother-in-law spent at least two years, and where he himself must have been at times. I therefore still hold decidedly to the later date of the publication of his book, and while holding still also that Wedderburn and he were not rivals but friends, engaged in a common work for the good of their native lands, and possibly even taking common counsel together in the city of their sojourn, I do not care to say more than I have done in the notes (pp. 270, 274) on the hymns they have in common, so far as these are contained in the second division of the 'Gude and Godly Ballates,' much of which cannot with certainty be attributed to the Wedderburns.

And now, in return for the pains Mr Herford has taken in correcting slips and imagined slips in my book of 1867 and letter of 1884, let me suggest a few in his own book worthy of his attention. 1st, In the body of the book (p. 8) the title of Coverdale's poems is correctly given "Goostly Psalmes and Spiritual Songes," but prominent among the addenda and corrigenda (p. xxx) stands the following: "For Goostly Psalmes and Spiritual Songs" read "*Goostly Songs and Spiritual Psalmes*"! This *corrigendum* certainly needs to be corrected, as he may at once satisfy himself by again consulting either the Parker Society's reprint or the unique copy of the original still preserved in Queen's College, Oxford. 2nd, Of Coverdale's second version of the Creed (p. 14) he affirms that "Coverdale deals successively with the three persons of the Trinity, but Speratus, *like the Nicene Creed*, with the successive incidents in the life of Christ." This surely should have been "like the Apostles' Creed," of which both Luther's and Speratus's hymns are undoubted versions, and from which Coverdale, like Luther, only so far departs as briefly to assert the supreme divinity of the Son in the second stanza and of the Holy Ghost in the third. 3rd, At p. 18 the Creed is correctly referred to as "das deutsche Patrem," but at p. 400 it is Luther's version of the Lord's Prayer which is so designated, and at p. 12, note 2, Moibanns' version of the Lord's Prayer is similarly designated instead of being called "das *Pater*" or "*Pater noster*." 4th, In the same page and note Kolrose's version of Psalm xxv. is referred to as "*ad te levavi oculos*"—the initial words of another psalm—instead of "*ad te levavi animam meam*." 5th, At p. 12, note 1, and again at p. 400, Coverdale's correspondence with Huber during the years 1540-48 is referred to, instead of during the period from autumn 1543 to the spring of 1546-47—that is, for three and a half years instead of eight—and it is affirmed to be almost unaccountable that if he had been then engaged in preparing his hymns he should have made no reference to them in this correspondence. But neither is there any reference to the other

literary labours in the translation of prose treatises, on which we know, beyond question, he was occupied during these years, as well as during the previous three years of his exile.¹ It is only from the letters of Hilles that we get a glimpse or two of his intense activity at this time, and of the wandering life he led before settling at Bergzabern. It has been usual to say that he spent the years immediately preceding at Tübingen, and received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University there in 1542; but the Very Rev. Dr Schmid, "Prelat" of Würtemberg, and first chaplain to the king, has most kindly made inquiries for me at the University authorities, and has been assured that, though the registers of that time are all extant, they contain no entry that he was ever adopted as a *Civis* of the University or received any degree from it, as his brother-in-law is known to have been admitted at Wittemberg, and promoted to the doctorate there. Comparing his own letter to Bullinger (*Remains*, p. 502) with a letter of Hilles (*Zürich Letters*, p. 223), and his own letter to Calvin in 1548 (*Remains*, p. 525), in which he mentions his having made the acquaintance of Calvin and his wife while still in Strassburg, we get conclusive evidence that in 1541, from July to the end of November, he was in that city and busied in literary work. Where he went next we do not know; but, in all probability, he and his wife accompanied Machabœus and his wife to Denmark before the end of 1542, for in the conclusion of his account of the Order of the Church of Denmark he says that in his account he had written nothing "of uncertainty, but even as I know, and as I have not only seen with mine eyes and heard with mine ears, but been present also long and many a day at the execution, practice, and experience thereof." He could only have been so during the interval between his 1541 visit to Strassburg and his settlement in Bergzabern in the end of 1543. The earnest exhortations he subjoins to his countrymen to avoid all kind of sedition, and to leave off all attempt to reform superstitions, ceremonies, and vain traditions till God should enlighten their rulers as to their duty in such matters, and the complaint he adds, that he had been slandered to the King's Majesty as a perverter of common order, and one that took upon him to change laws, almost lead one to suppose that it may have been one of his early publications in 1541-42 which led to his printer Gough being committed by the Privy Council to the Fleet prison for "prynting and selling sedycyous books," and possibly also that it was the surreptitious publication of his *Psalms and Songs* which partly gave occasion to the Act of 1543-44, which affirms that "froward and malicious minds, intending to subvert

¹ I understand it is suggested his hymns may have been composed while he was at Zürich in 1534-35; but Zürich was one of the last places at which he was likely to get Wittemberg or any other *Gesang* books, for at that date there was no singing in the churches there, any more than there was at Geneva in 1536 when Calvin settled in it.

the true exposition of Scripture, have taken upon them by printed ballads, rhymes, &c., subtilly and craftily to instruct his Highness' people, and specially *the youth of this his realm* untruly. For reformation wherof His Majesty considereth it most requisite to purge his realm of all such books, ballads, rhymes, and songs as be pestiferous and noisome. Therefore, if any printer shall print, give, or deliver any such, he shall suffer for the first time imprisonment for three months and forfeit for every copy £10, and for the second time shall forfeit all his goods and his body be committed to perpetual prison."¹ After 1543 Gough is not known to have printed or published any book; but, according to his latest biographer, he continued a member of the Stationers' Hall Company till 1555-56.

¹ Chappell's *Ballad Literature and Music of the Olden Time*, vol. i. p. 54. New ed.

CORRIGENDA.

Delete last sentence of note on p. liii and substitute: "This new version, as stated in 1867 in my 'Wedderburns and their Work' (p. 40, note), is attributed to Robert Pont, who studied first in St Andrews, and afterwards in France, and probably was practising law in the Consistory Court at St Andrews in 1559 when he was elected an elder in the kirk-session at St Andrews. Next year he was one of those at St Andrews found qualified by the General Assembly for preaching and teaching, and seems from that date to have devoted himself to the work of the ministry. He was the only minister who ever got the sanction of the General Assembly to his holding, in conjunction with the office of the ministry, the office of a Senator of the College of Justice. He was repeatedly appointed Moderator of the General Assembly, was intrusted with the visitation of several of the northern provinces, and when in 1601 a proposal was made for a new prose translation of the Bible, he was appointed by the Assembly to take charge of the revision of the metrical psalms."

On p. 48, l. 19, delete *For* and read *In*. On p. 57, l. 5, for *sittand* read *settand*; p. 86, l. 23, for *teach* read *teiche*; p. 141, l. 8, for *lyfe* read *lufe*; p. 182, l. 19, for *Zot* read *Zit*.

ADDENDUM.

In Johnson's 'Musical Museum' will be found the tune of the old secular ballad "Ah! my love! leif me not," also that of "My lufe murnis for me, for me," which he, as well as Sibbald, suppose to be the same as that of the plaintive ballad "He's low down, he's in the broom, that's waiting for me"; and Sibbald also thinks that the old song, of which the refrain is "Ye'll never be like our auld gude man," is the original of the religious ballad "For our gude man in heuin dois regne."



A N E

Appendious

of godlie Psalmes and spirit
collectit furthe of sindrie pa
Scripture, with diueris vthe
tis changeit out of prophan
in godlie sangis, for auoy
sin and harlatrie With
mentation of sindrie
and godlie Ballatt
not contentit in th
first editioun.



Imprenti

Edinburgh be IOHNE
for Henrie Charter
M. D. LXXVI

 Cum priuilegio

ANE

compendius

**Book. of Godly and Spi-
rituall Sangis.**

Collected out of sundrye partes of the
Scripture, with sundrye other Bal-
lads chaunged out of prophaine san-
gis in godly sangis, for auoy-
ding of sin and harlarry, with
signification of sundry
gude & godly ballads
not contained in the
first Edition.



Exactly corrected and newlye
Printed at Edinbrugh be Ro-
bert Smyth dwelling at
the nether bow 1600

ANE
COMPENDIOVS
BOOKE, OF GODLY
AND SPIRITVALL SONGS.

Collected out of sundrie partes of the Scripture,
with sundrie of other Ballates changed out of
prophaine fanges, for avoyding of sinne and
harlottrie, with augmentation of sundrie gude
and godly Ballates, not contained in the first
Edition.

*Newlie corrected and amended by
the first originall Copie.*



EDINBURGH,
Printed by *Andro Hart*. 1621.

T H E
Haill hundreth and fyftie
Psalmes of Dauid, in Ingl
meter, be Thomas Stern-
holde. With vtheris diueris
Poetis, quhilk completis
the haill Psalmes. As ef-
ter followis of the best
Interpretouris.



Imbrace the Lordis benefites,
all now that faithfull be,
For he the lycht of his trew word
dois oppin plenteouslie.

CImprentit at Edinburgh
be Johne Scot.

Anno Do. 1567.



Sing thir four beirs efter euerie
Psaline as followis.

O Lord that art the ready help,
of all that traistris in the,
Sail and defend thy chosin flock,
that now in danger be.

And gif ze pleis to sing this
Gloria Patri.

Glorie to the ffather heich above
glorie to the Sone for our behuse
Glorie to the holy Spirite of lufe
in thyninfald vutue.

As is, was, ay salbe but ruse,
ay thre in thre, and one to pruse.
Onhais Godheid neuer fall remuse,
Lord God deliuer me.

O Lord that hes the harris haill
of princes in thy handis,
Returne thair myndis in thair that thay
contrait to thy commandis. (saill

✠)(*)(✠)

A KALLENDER WITH AN ALMANACK FOR 12 YERES.

[*Prefixed to the Scottish Psalter of 1565.*]

Sonne ryseth. H.M.	Golde nōber.	S.	Change of the mone. H.M.	January 31 D. Circum.	Sonne setteth. H.M.
8.25.	19	A.	3.28 B.	i	3.35.
	8	b	9.27 B.	ii	
	6	c	9.42 A.	iii	
		d		iiii	
8.19.		e		v	3.41.
	3	f	1.44 A.	Epiph. vi	
		g		vii	
		A.		viii	
		b		ix	
8.11.	10	c	9.35 B.	Sone in Aquari. x	3.49.
		d		xi	
	18	e	4.33 B.	xii	
		f		xiii	
		g		xiiii	
8.2.	15	A.	6.4 B.	xv	3.58.
		b		xvi	
	12	c	5.34 B.	xvii	
		d		xviii	
		e		xix	
7.53.		f		xx	4.7.
	9	g	9.54 B.	xxi	
	17	A.	7.37 A.	xxii	
		b		xxiii	
		c		xxiiii	
7.43.	14	d	2.40 A.	Con.pau. xxv	4.17.

A KALLENDER WITH AN ALMANACK FOR 12 YERES.

		e			xxvi	
		f			xxvii	
		g			L. xxviii	
	11	A.	4.29	B.	xxix	
	19	b	11.11	A.	xxx	
	8	c	10.53	A.	xxxi	
Sonne ryseth.	Golde nöber.		Change of the mone.	February 28 D.		Sonne setteth.
H.M.			H. M.			H.M.
7.27.		d			i	4.33.
	16	e	8.27	B.	Pur. ma ii	
		f			iii	
		g			iiii	
7.19.	13	A.	3.3	B.	v	4.41.
		b			vi	
		c			vii	
		d			viii	
	10	e	4.24	B.	Sone in ix	4.51.
7.9.	18	f	8.3	A.	Piscis. x	
		g			xi	
		A.			xii	
	15	b	4.14	A.	xiii	
		c			xiiij	
6.56.	12	d	10.40	A.	xv	5.4.
		e			xvi	
		f			xvii	

A KALLENDER WITH AN ALMANACK FOR 12 YERES.

6.44.	9	g		xviii	
		A.	11.4 A.	xix	
		b		xx	5.16.
		17	9.42 B.	xxi	
		c		xxii	
6.33.	14	d		xxiii	
		e		lep yere	
		f	2.14 B.	Math.	xxiiii
		g		xxv	5.27.
		A.		xxvi	
	11	b	10.45 A.	xxvii	
		c		xxviii	
		19	3.57 A.	xxix	
		o			
Sonne ryseth.	Golde nōber.	S.	Change of the mone.	Marche 31 D.	Sonne setteth.
H.M.					H.M.
6.21.	8	d		i	5.39.
		e	11.9 B.	ii	
		f	6.10 A.	iii	
		g		iiii	
		A.		v	5.46.
6.14.	13	b	5.57 A.	vi	
		c		vii	
		d		viii	
		e		ix	
		f	7.27 A.	x	
6.0.	10	g		So.in Ari.	6.0.
				E xi	

A KALLENDER WITH AN ALMANACK FOR 12 YERES.

5.51.	18	A.	9.31 B.	xii	6.9.
		b		xiii	
	15	c	2.12 B.	xiiiij	
		d		xv	
		e		xvi	
5.39.		f	4.20 A.	xvii	6.21.
	12	g		xviii	
		A.		xix	
		b		xx	
	9	c	11.15 B.	xxi	
5.27.		d	7.42 A.	xxii	6.33.
	17	e		xxiii	
		f		xxiiii	
		g	4.32 A.	xxv	
		A.		Anu. ma. xxvi	
	11	b	3.40 A.	xxvii	
		c		xxviii	
		d		xxix	
	19	e	7.24 B.	xxx	
	8	f	7.53 A.	xxxix	
Sonne ryseth. H.M.	Golde nōber.	S.	Change of the mone. H.M.	Aprill 30 D.	Sonne setteth. H.M.
5.11.		g		i	6.49.
	16	A.	2.59 B.	ii	
		b		iii	
		c		iv	

A KALLENDER WITH AN ALMANACK FOR 12 YERES.

5.1.	13	d	9.48 B.	v	6. *
		e		vi	
		f		vii	
		g		viii	
	10	A.	9.43 B.	ix	
	18	b	0.14 A.	x	
4.50.		c		Sone in Taur.	7.10.
	15	d	0.29 A.		
		e			
		f			
4.38.		g		xiii	
	12	A.	9.20 B.	xiiiij	
		b		xv	7.2 *
		c		xvi	
		d		xvii	
	9	d	7.4 A.	xviii	
4.30.		e		xix	
	17	f	4.4 B.	xx	7.30.
		g		xxi	
		A.		xxii	
	14	b	3.59 B.	xxiii	
4.19.		c		xxiiii	
		d		xxv	7.41.
		e		xxvi	
	11	f	6.33 B.	xxvii	
	19	g	7.9 A.	xxviii	
		A.		W. xxix	
	8		3.39 B.	xxx	

* Edges of paper worn away here.

A KALLENDER WITH AN ALMANACK FOR 12 VERES.

*	M.	nōber.	S.	the mone. H.M.	May 31 D.		setteth. H.M.
					Phil. & Iacob.		
59.	7.	16	b	11.35 B.	i		57.53. (sic.)
			c		ii		
			d		iii		
			e		iiii		
		13	f	1.27 B.	v		8.I.
			g		vi		
			A.		vii		
		10	b	8.5 A.	viii		
			c		ix		
		18	d	4.48 B.	x		
49.		15	e	11.29 A.	xi		
			f		xii	The Sone in Gemi.	
			g		xiii		8.II.
			A.		xiiii		
			b		xv		
		12	c	0.40 B.	xvi		
			d		xvii		
			e		xviii		
		9	f	2.47 B.	xix		
	36.	17	g	11.38 B.	xx		8.24.
			A.		xxi		
36.			b		xxii		
		14	c	6.10 A.	xxiii		
			d		xxiiii		

A KALLENDER WITH AN ALMANACK FOR 12 YERES.

3.3?		e		xxv	3.
	11	f	6.14 A.	xxvi	
		g		xxvii	
	19	A.	4.32 B.	xxviii	
	8	b	10.14 B.	xxix	
	16	c	8.38 A.	xxx	
		d		xxxi	
Sonne ryseth. H.M.	Goldē nōber.	S.	Change of the mone. H.M.	June 30 D.	Sonne setteth. H.M.
3.24.		e		i	8.36.
		f		ii	
	13	g	5.19 A.	iii	
		A.		iiii	
3.22.		b		v	3.38.
		c		vi	
	10	d	6.39 B.	vii	
	18	e	0.4 A.	viii	
		f		ix	
	15	g	11.42 B.	x	
		A.		S. Barna. xi	
3.21.		b		Sone in Cancer. xii	8.39.
		c		xiii	
	12	d	1.59 A.	xiiij	
		e		xv	

A KALLENDER WITH AN ALMANACK FOR 12 YERES.

23.		f			xvi	8.37.
		g	10.6	B.	xvii	
	9	A.	7.15	A.	xviii	
	17				xix	
		b			xx	
		c			xxi	
26.		d			xxii	8.34.
		e	9.3	B.	xxiii	
		f			xxiiii	
		g			xxv	
	11	A.	4.10	B.	xxvi	
	19		0.20	A.	xxvii	
	8		7.37	A.	xxviii	
		d			xxix	
	16	e	6.50	B.	xxx	
		f				
Sonne ryseth.	Goldē nōber.	S.	Change of the mone.	Na. Ioh. Bapt.		Sonne setteth.
H.M.			H.M.	July 31 D.		H.M.
3.31.		g			i	8.29.
3.36.		A.			ii	8.24.
		b	7.53	B.	iii	
		c			iiii	
		d			v	
	10	e	11.24	B.	vi	
	18	f	7.37	A.	vii	
		g			viii	

A KALLENDER WITH AN ALMANACK FOR 12 YERES.

		A.			ix	
	15	b	1.26 B.		x	
		c			xi	
		d			xii	
		e			xiii	
3.49.	12	f	1.34 B.	Sone in Leo.	xiiii	8.11.
		g			xv	
	9	A.	6.59 A.		xvi	
		b			xvii	
	17	c	1.24 B.		xviii	
		d			xix	
3.59.		e			xx	8.1.
		f			xxi	
	14	g	0.19 B.		xxii	
		A.			xxiii	
	11	b	0.18 A.		xxiiii	
4.9.	19	c	11.2 A.	Iam. apo.	xxv	7.51.
		d			xxvi	
	8	e	5.24 B.		xxvii	
	16	f	6.40 A.		xxviii	
		g			xxix	
		A.			xxx	
		b			xxxi	
Sonne ryseth. H.M.	Goldē nōber.	S.	Change of the mone. H.M.	August 31 D.	Sonne setteth. H.M.	

A KALLENDER WITH AN ALMANACK FOR 12 YERES.

4.23.	13	c	9.25 A.	Petri ad vin.	i	7.37.
		d			ii	
		e			iii	
	10	f	10.14 A.		iiii	
4.32.		g			v	7.28.
	18	A.	2.53 B.		vi	
		b			vii	
	15	c	4.45 A.		viii	
		d			ix	
		e		S. Lauren.	x	
		f			xi	
	12	g	11.41 B.		xii	
		A.			xiii	
4.50.		b		Sone in vir.	xiv	7.10.
	9	c	3.27 B.	Assum.ma.	xv	
	17	d	4.2 A.		xvi	
		e			xvii	
		f			xviii	
		g			xix	
5.4.	14	A.	3.39 A.		xx	6.56.
		b			xxi	
	11	c	9.58 A.		xxii	
		d			xxiii	
	19	e	3.15 B.	Bartho.	xxiiii	
5.15.	8	f	4.17 A.		xxv	6.45.
		g			xxvi	

A KALLENDER WITH AN ALMANACK FOR 12 YERES.

	16	A.	9.40 B.	xxvii	
		b		xxviii	
		c		xxix	
		d		xxx	
	13	e	9.54 B.	xxxi	
Sonne ryseth. H.M. 5.32.	Goldē nōber.	S.	Change of the mone. H.M.	Septēber 30 D.	Sonne setteth.
		f		i	6.28.
		g		ii	
	10	A.	8.31 B.	iii	
	18	b	0.33 A.	iiii	
5.41.		c		v	6.19.
		d		vi	
	15	e	9.14 B.	vii	
		f		viii	
		g		ix	
	12	A.	1.7.0 A.	x	
		b		xi	
		c		xii	
6.0.	9	d	1.38 A.	xiii	
		e		xiiii	6.0.
		f		xv	
	17	g	4.43 B.	xvi	
		A.		xvii	
		b		xviii	

A KALLENDER WITH AN ALMANACK FOR 12 YERES.

6.16.	14	c	6.40 B.	xix	5.44
		d		xx	
	11	e	4.39 B.	xxi	
	19	f	0.38 A.	xxii	
		g		xxiii	
6.28.	8	A.	7.26 B.	xxiiii	5.32.5
		b		xxv	
	16	c	2.24 B.	xxvi	
		d		xxvii	
		e		xxviii	
	13	f	9.21 A.	S. Mich. xxix	
		g		xxx	
Sonne ryseth. H.M. 6.42.	Goldē nōber.	S.	Change of the mone. H.M.	October 30 D.	Sonne setteth. H.M. 5.18.
6.54.		A.		i	5.6
	10	b	11.51 B.	ii	
		c		iii	
	18	d	0.39 B.	iiii	
		e		v	
		f		vi	
	15	g	2.3 B.	vii	
		A.		viii	
		b		ix	
	12	c	6.21 B.	x	

A KALLENDER WITH AN ALMANACK FOR 12 YERES.

		d			xi	
		e			xii	
7.9.	9	f	3.7 B.	Sone in	xiii	
	17	g	8.22 A.	Scor.	xiiii	
		A.			xv	
		b			xvi	
		c			xvii	
	4	d	8.27 A.	S. Luk.	xviii	
		e			xix	
7.25.	11	f	2.3 A.		xx	4.35.
	19	g	11.16 A.		xxi	
		A.			xxii	
		b			xxiii	
	8	c	0.40 B.		xxiiii	
7.36.	16	d	8.25 A.		xxv	4.24.
		e			xxvi	
		f			xxvii	
		g		Simon	xxviii	
	13	A.	7.54 B.	& Iude	xxix	
		b			xxx	
		c			xxxi	
Sonne ryseth. H.M.	Goldē nōber.	S.	Change of the mone. H.M.	Nouember 30 D.		Sonne setteth. H.M.
7.51.	10	d	1.15 B.	i		4.9.
	18	e	3.30 A.	ii		
		f		iii		

A KALLENDER WITH AN ALMANACK FOR 12 YERES.

7.50.	15	g	6.21 A.	S. Mart. Sone in Sagit.	iiii	4.1.
		A.			v	
		b			vi	
		c			vii	
		d			viii	
	12	e	3.49 A.		ix	
		f			x	
		g			xi	
		A.			xii	
		b			xiii	
8.11.	9	c	11.56 A.		xiiii	3.36.
		d			xv	
		e			xvi	
		f			xvii	
		g			xviii	
	7	A.	2.40 A.		xix	
		b			xx	
		c			xxi	
		d			xxii	
		e			xxiii	
8.24.	14	f	9.0 B.		xxiiii	3.30.
		g			xxv	
		A.			xxvi	
		b			xxvii	
		c			xxviii	
	11	d	1.5 B.		xxix	
		e				
		f				
		g				
		A.				
8.30.	19	b	0.48 A.			
		c				
		d				
		e				
		f				
	8	g	7.39 A.			
		A.				
		b				
		c				
		d				
8.30.	16	e	2.24 A.			
		f				
		g				
		A.				
		b				
	13	c	5.49 A.			
		d				

A KALLENDER WITH AN ALMANACK FOR 12 YERES.

	10	e	1.52 A.	S. Andr. xxx	
Sonne ryseth.	Goldē nōber.	S.	Change of the mone.	December 31 D.	Sonne setteth.
H.M.			H.M.		H.M.
8.35.		f		i	3.25.
	18	g	9.8 B.	ii	
		A.		iii	
		b		iiii	
8.38.	15	c	8.39 B.	v	3.22.
		d		vi	
		e		vii	
	12	f	4.6 B.	viii	
		g		ix	
		A.		x	
	9	b	2.18 A.	xi	
8.39.		c		So. in Ca. xii	3.21.
	17	d	9.38 B.	Luci. vir. xiii	
		e		xiiii	
		f		xv	
	14	g	8.3 A.	xvi	
		A.		xvii	
	11	b	2.11 A.	xviii	
		c		xix	
8.37.	19	d	4.41 B.	xx	3.23.
		e		tho. apo. xxi	
	8	f	2.54 A.	xxii	

A KALLENDER WITH AN ALMANACK FOR 12 YERES.¹

.34.	16	g	7.8 B.	xxiii	3.26.
		A.		xxiiii	
		b		Nat. dom. xxv	
	13	c	3.39 B.	xxvi	
		d		xxvii	
		e		xxviii	
		f		xxix	
	10	g	9.31 B.	xxx	
		A.		xxxi	

¹ Reprinted from copy of 1565 edition of 'Scottish Psalter' in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, but the pages not now extant in it have been supplied from the more perfect copy preserved in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge.

A TABLE FOR THE GOL-
den number, Epach and Kayes of mouea-
ble Feastes beginning 1565. and so
for euer.

8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.
28.	9.	20.	1.	12.	23.	4.	15.	26.	7.	18.	29.
39.	28.	17.	36.	25.	14.	33.	22.	11.	30.	19.	38.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	Golden number.
11.	22.	3.	14.	25.	6.	17.	Epach.
26.	15.	34.	23.	12.	31.	20.	Kayes of Feastes.

A Table for the Domincal letter beginning y^e
yere of God 1565. and so for euer.

g.	f.	e.	d.	b.	A.	g.	f.	d.	c.	b.	A.	f.	c.	d.
			c.				e.				g.			
c.	A.	g.	f.	e.	c.	b.	A.	g.	e.	d.	c.	b.		
b.			d.				f.				A.			

Note that when it is leap yere the letter **E** w^c is the 23
of February is twice recoued and then February hath 29
dayes.

A TABLE FOR THE SHYNING OF THE MONE.

A TABLE FOR THE SHYNING OF THE MONE.

Day of her age.	Tyme she shyneth.	Day of her age.	WILLIAM STEWART TO THE READER.
	H. M.		
1.	0 . 48	30.	Beloued reader, I have
2.	1 . 36	29.	thought good. aswel
3.	2 . 24	28.	for the decoration of this
4.	3 . 12	27.	moste singular boke, as
5.	4 . 0	26.	for thy profite to adde sõe
6.	4 . 48	25.	things vnto the Calender.
7.	5 . 36	24.	First I have added the ex-
8.	6 . 24	23.	act houre and minute that
9.	7 . 12	22.	the Sone riseth & setteth,
10.	8 . 0	21.	almost euerie fyfte day
11.	8 . 48	20.	throughout the whole yere
12.	9 . 36	19.	calculate to the latitude of
13.	10 . 24	18.	Edinburgh, whereof the
14.	11 . 12	17.	commoditie is partely de-
15.	12 . 0	16.	clared in one of the canōs
To the ful.		From the ful.	folowing, but I wil here
			teache thee by one exam-

ple, how thou shalt knowe how long any day or night of the yere is. First marke if at the end of the day appointed, the setting of the Sone be noted, if not, take the nerest marked (the difference can not be great) and double the same, so haste thou the length of thy day, which subtracted from 24. remaineth the length of thy night

A TABLE FOR THE SHYNING OF THE MONE.

night. The same may be done with the number of the Sone rying, but not so easilie, for the operation is double: first thou muste subtract thy Sone rying from 12. so hast thou thy Sone setting or the halfe of thy day which thou must double as before &c. Now wil I illustrat the rule of the Sone setting with one example. The Sone entreth the 12. of June, in the first minute of Cancer, at the end of this day I finde y^e Sone setteth at 8. houres 39. min. which doubled, I finde to be 17. houres 18. min. the iust length of our longest day: now I subtract this from 24 and there resteth 6. houres 42. mi. which is our shortest night in somer, and our shortest day in winter, lyke as thou mayst knowe doubling the Sone setting when he entreth in Capricorne.

Besydes this I have also added the precise day houre and min. of all the changes of the Mone that we shal have for the space of 12. yeares to come, exactlie calculate to the Meridian of the towne foresaid, the practise whereof is this. Seke the golden number of the yeare proposed vnder the tytle of the golden number, & thou shalt finde against it the verie day houre and m. of the change with the letter B. if it be before noon or with A. if it be after noon. For to make the canons more facile, I wil explaine the same with one example. If thou desire to know what

A TABLE FOR THE SHYNING OF THE MONE.

day of Nouember we shal haue the change of the Mone. año. 1574. worke thus. First seke the golden number of the yeare proposed, & thou shalt finde it 17 then seke 17. vnder the tytle of the goldē number in the moneth appointed and thou shalt finde it against the 13. day, where against vnder the tytle of change of the Mone is 2. houres 40. min. with this letter A. which signifieth after noon, so haue we change 1574. the 13. of Nouember at two houres & 40. min. after noon (and then shal the Sone be eclipsed :) do so with all others, and thou shal not faile to knowe the exact tyme of the coniunction of Sone and Mone, calculate to our longitude.

A rule to finde out moueable Feastes.

Loke out the Kay of your yeare in the table, then go to the place of the Kalender, to wit, at the 28. of Ianuarie, where ye shal finde a capital L there begine for the finding of Lent, and at the 11. of Marche a capital E where begine for Easter day, & at the 29. of April this letter W where begine for Whitsonday, tell from thēce forwardes so many dayes as the Kaye of that yere is, & where the number endeth, the Sōday following is that Feast. But if it be lepe yere, it is the second Sunday and not the first.

A RVLE TO KNOWE WHEN the Mone ryseth, & how long she shyneth.

The day of her age being knowen, loke in the Table of her shyning the houres and min. of that night, and adde to the same the going downe of the Sone, which ye shal finde noted in the Calender (if it be not noted that day you seke, take the next to that day, which is all one) which nombers added, declare till what houre she shyneth. As for example. The 6 day of Ianuary the Mone is 4. dayes olde, the Sone goeth downe that night at 3. houres 41. min. the Mone shyneth as appeareth in the table 3. 12. min. which added, maketh 6. ho. 53. min. which is the tyme she goeth downe at. This serueth till the ful Mone because she shyneth, immediatlie the Sone being set. But after the ful, loke the tyme of the Sones rysing (in the Kalender also appearing) & recon so many houres backe from the rysing of the Sone, as she shyneth that night, & that shal shew you the tyme she ryseth at.

SONNET.

WILLIAM STEWART

TO THE CHVRCH OF SCOT-

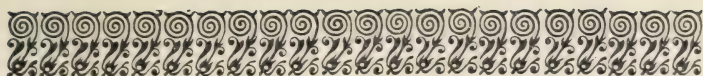
land. Sonnet.¹

Thou litle church, to whō Christ hath restorde
The cleare lost light of his euāgel pure :
Thy God doth with all diligence procure,
That with his worde, thou maist be stil decorde.

Thogh y haue long his wholesome trueth abhorde
Yet his great mercies did thy blindnes cure
Submitting thee, vnto the careful cure,
Of suche pastours, as truely teache his worde.

Out of whose hāds (wt. great thāks) now receiue,
All Dauids Psalmes, set foorth in pleasant verse :
A greater gift of them thou couldst not craue.
Whose endles frute, my pen can not rehearse :
For here thou hast, for euerie accident
That may occurre a doctrine pertinent.

¹ The author of the above Sonnet is described in 1565 and again in 1566-67, as Ross Herald, in the Accounts of the Thirds of Benefices, where we find that the annual sum of £133, 6s. 8d. was paid to "William Stewarte Ross Herald, translator of sic werkes in the Kirk as is necessar for edifying of the people."—Laing's Works of John Knox, vol. vi. p. 334.



¶ THE PROLOGVE.

PAVLE writand to the Colloss. in his thrid Chap. sayis, let the word of God dwel in zow plenteouslie in all wisdõe, teiching and exhorting zour awin selfis with Psalmes, & hymnis, and spirituall sãgis, quhilkis haue lufe to God & fauouris his word. We haue heir ane plane Text, that the word of God Incessis plenteouslie in vs, be singing of the Psalmes, and spiritual sangis and that specialle amãg zoung personis, and sic as ar not exercisit in the Scriptures, for thay wil soner consaue the trew word, nor quhen thay heir it sung in Latine, the quhilks thay wait not quhat it is. Bot quhen thay heir it sung into thair vulgar toũg or singis it thame selfis with sweit melodie, then sal thay lufe thair Lord God with hart and minde, and cause them to put away baudrie & vnclene sangis. Prays¹ God. Amen.

¹ The only copy extant of the edition of 1567 unfortunately wants the first two folios. The edition of 1578 reads Pray, but Ed. 1600 reads Prays—*i.e.*, praise; and Ed. 1621, which purports to be corrected after the original edition, reads Praise to God. These several editions will be cited in these notes as A., B., C., D., in the order of their date. C. in line 1 has "wrytand," in line 2 "Lat," in lines 10, 11, "thy," in line 14 "than," for "writand," "let," "thay," "then," and in line 4 omits "awin." D. in line 14 has "wot" instead of "wait," and in line 13 put "into thair vulgar toung" after the words "or singis it them selfis."

¶ THE TEXT OF THE CATECHISME.

THE text of the Catechisme, or Instructioun of Christiane men, quhilk is necessarie till euerie man that wald be sauit, to knaw and exercise thame selfis daylie thairin, contening¹ the ten commandementis of God, the twelf Articklis¹ of our Faith, the Lordis prayer, of our Baptisme, and of the Lordis Supper.

*And first the ten commandementis of God as they ar
writtin² in Exodus the twentie Chapter.*

I am the Lord thy God, quhilk haue brocht thé out of the land of Egypt, and furth³ of the hous of bondage. Thow sall⁴ haue nane vther godis befor my face. ⁵ Thow sall not mak to thy self ony grauin Image, nor the similitude of ony thing that is in heuin aboue, nor⁶ in the eirth beneth, nor in the watter⁷ vnder the eirth, thow sall not⁸ bow downe⁹ to them, nor worschip them. For I the Lord thy God am a Jelous God, and visitis the sinnes of the Fatheris vpon the Children vnto the thrid and fourt generatioun of them that hait me, and schew¹⁰ mercie vnto thousandis of thē that lufe me and keipis my commandementis.

Thow sall not tak the Name of the Lord thy God in vain.¹¹

Remember that thow keip haly the Sabbboth day.

Honour thy Father and thy¹² Mother.

¹ conteland, C. The "text" does not add in this place the sixth "Stück" of the Lutheran Catechisms "of the power of the keys," but the words of Scripture relating to this are given on p. 7, while yet the corresponding hymn on the effect of "Holy Absolution" has no place in the metrical part of the 'Catechisme' in any extant edition of this book. Conteinand, D.; Articles, C. D.; the Lord's Prayer or Pater noster, C. D.

² wrytten, C.; written in Exod. xx. chap., D.

³ out, C. D.

⁴ not have any vther strange goddis, C.; gods, D.

⁵ This begins a new paragraph in C. D., thus recognising what follows as a distinct precept, while the last precept is still split up into two.

⁶ or, C. D. ⁷ or in the watters, C. D.

⁸ nocht, C.; noght, D.

⁹ C. and D. insert "thyselſe."

¹⁰ So, B. C.; shaws, D.

¹¹ D. adds: for the Lord wil not hald him guiltles that taketh his Name in vaine.

¹² C. and D. omit "thy."

Thow sall¹ do na Murther.

Thow sall not commit Adulterie.

Thow sall not steill.

Thow sall not beir fals witnes aganis thy Nichtbour.³

Thow sall not² couet³ thy Nichtbouris hous, thow sall not couet³ thy Nichtbouris wyfe, nor his seruand, nor his Mayd, nor his Oxe, nor his Asse, nor ony thing that is thy Nichtbouris.

¶⁴ *The threitning of God maid to them that brekis his commandementis, and his promeis made to them that keipis them. Deut. xviij.⁵*

Cursit ar thay that continewis not in all the wordis of this Law to do them, and all the pepil sall say Amen. Exod. xx. Chap.

¶⁴ *The twelf Articklis of our Faith,⁶ as thay war writtin be the Apostillis to the thre persones in Trinitie.*

1. I Beleue in God the Father almichtie,⁷ maker of heuin and eird.
2. And in Jesus Christ his only sone our Lord.
3. Quhilk was consauit be the haly Gaist, borne of the Virgine Mary.
4. Sufferit vnder Ponce Pylate, was crucifyit, deid,⁸ and buryit, and discendit into hell.⁸
5. The thrid day he rais againe from⁹ the deid.
6. He ascendit into heuin, and sittis¹⁰ at the richt hand of God the Father almichtie.⁷

¹ nocht slay, C. D.

² nocht, C. ; nocht, D.

³ D. has Neighbour, Neighbours, Maiden, in lines 4, 5, 6, and "that is his" in line 7. C. D. read "desire" instead of "couet," and separate the first clause as if a distinct precept, as it is according to the Roman and Lutheran Churches.

⁴ C. and D. have "Followis" or "Followes" here, and generally where it occurs in A., though B. omits it.

⁵ Should be Deut. xxvij.

⁶ or Creid, C. D.

⁷ Almighty, Sonne, D.

⁸ died, the hell, C. D.

⁹ agane fra, C. D.

¹⁰ sitis, C. ; sits, D.

7. And efter¹ sall cum to Judge the quicke and the deid.
8. I Beleue in the haly Gaist.
9. The haly Kirk vniuersall,² the communioun of Saintes.²
10. The Remissioun of Sinnis.
11. The Resurrectioun of the body.
12. And life Euerlasting. So be it.³

¶ *The Lordis prayer⁴ as it is written in the 6. Chap.
of Mathew, quhilk Christ leirnit vs to pray,⁵
contening sex⁶ petitiounis, and all thingis
necessarie for vs. &c.*

1. OUR Father that art in heuin, hallowit be thy Name.
2. Thy Kingdome cum.
3. Thy will be done in eirth as it is in heuin.
4. Giue vs this day our daylie breid.
5. Forgiue vs our trespassis, as we forgiue them that trespas
aganis vs.
6. And leid vs not into temptatioun. ⁷ Bot deliuer vs from euill.
For thine is the Kingdome, the power, and the glorie for
ever. Amen.

¶ *Of our Baptisme.*

GO zour way and teiche all Natiounis, and Baptise them
in the Name of the Father, & of the Sone, and of the
haly Gaist. Math.⁸ xvj. Chap. Go zour way into all the warld,
and preiche the Euangell, till all creatures, and quha that
beleuis and is Baptisit, sall be saif, bot quha beleuis not,

¹ Fra thence sall he, C. D.

² Catholicke Kirke, Sanctis, C. D.

³ Omitted, C. D.

⁴ Or *Pater Noster*, C. D.

⁵ commandand vs to pray, and promiseist to heir vs, C. D.

⁶ contenand 7 petitiouns, C. D.

⁷ The 7th petition in C. and D.

⁸ So in all the editions, but while the passage preceding is from Matthew xxviii. the passage which follows is from Mark xvi. No English version which

salbe condampnit. Ad Titum. cap. 3.¹ Nocht for the warkis of rychteousnes, quhilk we haue wrocht, bot efter his greit mercy, God hes sauit vs, be the fontane of the new byrth, and renewing of the haly Gaist. Quhilk he sched on vs aboudantlie throw Jesus Christ our Sauour, yat we being maid richteous, be his grace, suld be airis of Eternall lyfe. ² According to hope, this is trew.³

¶ Rom. 6.⁴ Thairfoir we ar buryit with Christ be Baptisme in to deid. Lyke as Christ was raisit fra deide be the glorie of his Father, euin sa we also suld walk in a new lyfe.

¶ *Followis the Lordis Supper, as it is writtin in the first Epistill to the Cor. II chap.*

¶ That quhilk I haue deliuerit vnto zow, I resautit of the Lord, for y^e Lord Jesus the same nycht, in the quhilk [he]⁵ was betrayit, tuke the breid, brak it, [&] gaif thankis and said. Tak ze, eit ze, [this]⁵ is my body quhilk is brokin for [zow],

I have seen corresponds exactly with these citations. The following from Tyndale's first edition of the New Testament come very near: "Goo therefore and teache all nacions, baptising them in the name of the Father and the Sonne, and the Holy Goost." "Goo ye into all the woorld and preache the gospell (glad tydinges, Ed. 1534) to all creaturs; Whosoever beleveth and is baptised shalbe safe; And whosoever beleveth nott shalbe dampned."

¹ "Not of the dedes of rightewsnnes which we wrought, but off his mercie he saved us by the fountayne of the newe birth and with the renuyng off the holy Goost, which he shed on us abundantly, thorow Jesus Christ oure saveoure that we once justified by his grace shulde be heyres off eternal lyfe thorowe hope. This is a true sayinge" (*Tyndale*, 1526).

² So in A.; but B. C. D. rather join this sentence to the one preceding.

³ according to the hope that is trew, C. D. "That we justified bi his grace ben eiris bi hope of everlasting liff a trewe word is" (*Wyclif*).

⁴ "We are buried with him by baptism for to deye (in to deeth, *Wyclif*). That as Christ was rayised up from deeth by the glory of the fater, even so we also shulde walke in a newe lyfe" (*Tyndale*, 1526).

⁵ The words in brackets occur at the end of the lines, and have been worn away in the only extant copy of A. C. and D. read *that* instead of *this*, and altogether omit *this* in the clause following.

do ze this in remembrance of me. Efter the same maner also, he tuke the coupe, quhen the supper was done, &¹ said, This coupe is the new Testament in my blude, do this (als oft as ze drink it) in the remembrance of me, for als oft as ze sall eit of this breid, and drink of this coupe, ze sall schaw² the Lordis deith vntill his cuming. Quhairfoir, quha sa euer sal eit of this breid, & drink of this coupe of the Lord vnworthely, salbe gyltie of the body and blude of the Lord. Bot lat euerie man examine him self, and lat him eit of this breid, & drink of this coupe. For he that eitis & drinkis vnworthelie, eitis and drinkis his awin condāpnatioun,³ because he makis na difference of the Lordis body and blude.⁴

¶ *Followis the power of binding and loos-
sing, grantit to the trew preiche-
ouris of Goddis word.*⁵

Mathew xvi. Chap.⁶

¹ Wherever this contraction is used in the edition of 1567, it is retained in this reprint, and where that for *m* or *n* is used the italic letter is inserted.

² declair, B.

³ dampnation, B.

⁴ "That which I delyvered unto you I receaved of the lorde. For the lorde Jesus, the same nyght in which he was betrayed, toke breed, and thanked and brake and sayde, Take ye and eate ye: this is my body which is broken for you. This do ye in the remembraunce of me. After the same manner he toke the cup, when sopper was done, sayinge, This cup is the newe Testament in my bloud. This do as oft as ye drynke it in the remembraunce of me. For as often as ye shall eate this breed and drynke this cup ye shall shew the lordes deeth tyll he come. Wherefore whosoevere shall eate of this bred or drynke of the cup unworthely shalbe giltie of the body and bloud of the lorde. Let a man therefore examen himsilfe and so let him eate of the breed and drynke of the cup. For he that eateth or drinketh unworthely eateth and drynketh his awn dampnacion, because he maketh no difference of the lordis body" (*Tyndale*, Ed. 1534).

⁵ granted to the preachers of Gods word, D.

⁶ The first two sentences quoted are from Matt. xvi. 19, but the third is from John xx. 23, "I will geve unto thé the keyes of the kyngdom of heven, and whatsoever thou byndest uppon erth yt shall be bounde in heven, and whatsoever thou lowsest on erthe yt shalbe lowsed in heven." "Whosoers synnes ye remyt are remitted unto them. And whosoers synnes ye retayne they are retayned" (*Tyndale*, 1526). "Whose synnes ye forgiven tho ben forgiven to hem" (*Wyclif*).

¶ The keyis of heuin will I gif¹ vnto the. Quhat sa euer thow sall bind vpon the eird, salbe bound also in heuin, and quhat sa euer thow sall louse vpon the eird, salbe lousit² also in heuin. Quhais Sinnis ze forgeue, ar forgeuin vnto thame, and quhais Sinnis ze retene, ar retenit³ vnto thame.

¹ giue, B. D.² lowsit, B. C.³ reteine, reteinit, D.

¶ *Heir followis the Catechisme put in meter,
to be sung with the tone,¹ and first
the ten Commandis.²*

MOYSES, vpon the mount Sinay,
With the greit³ God spak face for³ face,
Fastand and prayand, but delay,
The tyme of fourtie dayis space.
O God, be mercyfull to vs.

And God gaif him thir ten Commandis,
To teiche to mankynde euerie ane,⁴
And wrait thame, with his awin handis,
Twyse on twa Tabillis maid⁵ of stane.⁴
O God, be mercyfull to vs.

i. I am thy God allanerlie,
Serue me in feir and Faith thairfoir,

¹ tune, B. C. D. ² So also C. D. ; commandementis, B. ³ grit, to, C. D.⁴ A. C. D. ; one, stone, B.⁵ Tablis, C. D. ; made, D.

Wirschip¹ na kynde of Imagerie,
 And geue na creature my gloir.
 O God, be mercyfull to vs.

ij. Tak nocht² the name of God in vaine,
 Bot lat zour talk be nay and ze,
 Except ane Juge³ do zow constraine,
 To testifie the veritie.
 O God, be mercyfull to vs.

iiij. Wirk na euill wark on haly day,
 Flé from all sinfull⁴ lust and sleuth,
 Walk and be sober, fast and pray,
 Heir him that preiche the word of treuth.
 O God, be mercyfull to vs.

iiij. Honour thy Elderis ; and thame⁵ supplie,
 Geue that thair neid of thé requyre,
 Obey all Jugeis,³ in thair⁵ degré,
 Ordand ouer thé till⁶ haif⁶ Impyre.
 O God, be mercyfull to vs.

v. Thou sall not slay, in na kin wyse,
 In consell,⁷ thocht, nor outward deid ;
 Be thow ane Juge,³ or on ane syse,
 In Jugement ordourlie proceed.
 O God, be mercyfull to vs.

vi. Commit na kynde of lichorie,⁸
 Bot leif ane chaist⁹ and sober lyfe,

¹ So A. C. D. ; Worschip, B.

² A. C. D. ; not, B.

³ Judge, Judges, B. C. D.

⁴ A. C. B. ; filthie, D.

⁵ them, their, B.

⁶ A. C. ; ouir to, B. ; haue, D.

⁷ *Sic* possibly for counsell.

⁸ A. ; licherie, B. ; lecherie, D.

⁹ A. B. ; chast, C. D.

Want thow the gift of chaistitie,¹
 Burne not in lust, bot wed ane wyfe.
 O God, be mercyfull to vs.

vij. Commit na thift, na man thow reif,
 Leue² on thy waige,² thy rent, or wark ;
 Hald na mannis geir, lat nane thé craif,
 Beg not, and thow be haill and stark.
 O God, be mercyfull to vs.

viiij. Beir na witnes with fals report,
 In contrair Just and rychteous men ;
 Defame na man in ony sort,
 Suppose³ his fault or vyce thow ken.
 O God, be mercyfull to vs.

ix. Thy nychtbouris wyfe, hous, heritage,
 Thow couet not to thé, nor⁴ wis
 His hors, his oxe, his maide⁵ nor page,⁵
 Nor ony guddis that is his.
 O God, be mercyfull to vs.

x. Our poyssound nature (allace thairfoir)
 Can neuer mair this law fulfill,
 Bot greuand God ay moir and moir,
 And cannot wirk his godly will.
 O God, be mercyfull to vs.

Than quhy gaif God to vs⁶ this Law,
 The quhilk be na way we can keip ?
 That we, be it, our Sin suld know,

¹ A. B. ; chastity, C. D.

³ A. ; Suppois, B. C. D.

⁵ A. D. ; Mayd, B. C. ; his page, C.

² A. C. D. ; leif, B. ; wage, B. C. D.

⁴ A. C. D. ; or, B.

⁶ So also C. D. ; to us gaue God, B.

Repent and mend, and for it weip.

O God, be mercyfull to vs.

Trew Faith in Christ, wirkand be lufe,
Sall saue vs from the fyre of hell;
Thocht Goddis Angell wald this¹ reprufe,
As fals and curst ze him expell.

O God, be mercyfull to vs.

¶ *Followis of our Creid.*²

We trow in God allanerlie,
Full of all mycht and Maiestie,
Maker of heuin, and eird sa braid,
Quhilk hes him self our Father maid,
And we his Sonnis³ ar in deid;
He will vs keip in all our neid,
Baith Saule and body to defend,
That na mischance sall vs offend;
He takis cure, baith day and nycht,⁴
To saue vs, throw his godly mycht,⁴
Fra Sathanis subteltie⁵ and slycht.⁴

We trow in Jesus Christ, his Sone,
God, lyke in gloir, our Lord allone,
Quhilk, for his mercy and his grace,
⁶[Wa]ld man be borne, to mak our peace,
[Of] Marie mother, Virgin chaist,
[Co]nsauit⁷ be the haly Gaist,

¹ So A. C. ; vs, B.

² A. C. D. ; of our Beleif, B.

⁴ A. ; nicht, micht, slicht, B. C. D.

⁶ The letters in brackets are worn away.

³ A. B. C. ; Sonnes, D.

⁵ A. B. ; subtilty, C. D.

⁷ A. B. ; Conseuit, D.

And for our saik on Croce did die,
 Fra sin and hell to mak vs fré,
 And rais from deith (throw his godheid)
 Our Mediator¹ and our remeid,
 Sall cum to Juge¹ baith quick and deide.

We trow in God the haly Spreit,
 In all distres our confort² sweit;
 We trow the Kirk Catholik² be
 And³ Faithfull Christin cumpanie,
 [United vnto Christ the Lord]⁴
 Throw all the warld with ane accord.
 Remissioun of our Sin we trow,
 And this same flesche that leuis now,
 [Thocht it maie moulder and decay,]⁴
 Sall stand vp at the latter day,
 And bruke Eternall lyfe for ay.

❧ F I N I S.

[*The Lordis Prayer.*]

Our Father, God Omnipotent,
 Quhen Christ thy Sone was heir present,
 He bad ws euer pray to thé,
 (Because we knew not for to pray)
 He leirnit vs quhat we suld say,
 Syne hecht to heir vs mercyfullie.

Sen thé to call is thy command,
 Thyne awin wordis than vnderstand,
 Quhilk thow hes promiseist for till heir:
 Behauld nocht my vnworthynes,⁵

¹ A.; Mediatour, Judge, B. C. D.

² comfort, Catholick, B. C. D.

³ Query if for 'Ane.'

⁴ Supplied from the German to complete the stanza and the rhymes.

⁵ A. D.; vnrichteousnes, B.

Bot luke till Christis rychteousnes,
And, with thy Faith, my Spirite¹ vp steir.

Lord,² thow will haif allanerlie,
Wirschip in Spirite¹ and veritie,
And till nane vther geue thy gloir ;
Thy name than³ lat vs loue and dreid,
And call on it, in all our neid,
And thank, and loue thé euer moir.

Distroy the Deuill, his Realme and Regne,⁴
Quhilk of this warld is Prince and King,
And lat³ thy Gospell be our gyde ;
Conforme our lyfe efter thy word,
That we may Regne for euer, O Lord,
In thy Kinrik with thé to byde.

God, grant that we may wirk thy will,
In eird thy plesour⁵ to fulfill,
Siclyke as in the heuin Impyre,
And quhat that euer we tak on hand,
May be conforme to thy command,
And na thing efter our desyre.

Geue⁵ vs this day our daylie breid,
And all thing that thow hes maid,
[F]or mennis⁶ sustentatioun,
[A]nd all thing quhairof we haif neid,
Our Saule and body for to feid,
But sleuth or solistatioun.

¹ A. ; Worschip, Spreit, B. C. D.

³ So A. C. D. ; then, let, B.

⁵ A. D. ; plesure, giue, B.

² A. B. C. ; And, D.

⁴ A. ; Reigne, B. ; Renge, C. D.

⁶ A. B. ; mannis, C. D.

Forgeue¹ our sinnis, and our trespas,
 For Christis saik, quhilk geuin was
 To deide, for our Redemptioun,
 As we forgeue¹ all Creature
 Offendand vs, baith ryche and pure,
 Hartfullie without exemptioun.

Defend vs from temptatioun,
 The Feind and his vexatioun,
 The warld sa fals, the fragill flesche;
 Saif vs from schame, and from dispair,
 From unbeleue, and Lollardis² lair,
 And Deuillis doctrine mair or les.

Deliuier vs from euillis all,
 Baith Spirituall and Corporall,
 And grant vs grace, quhen we sall die,
 And fra this present lyfe we wend,
 That we may mak ane blissit end,
 Syne Regne³ with thé Eternallie.

Power nor gloir, Impyre nor tryne,
 Is nane in heuin, nor eird,⁴ bot thyne,
 And euer mair sall sa remaine;
 Thairfoir thow may, and will releue
 All thame, that can in Christ beleue,
 From deide, the Deuill, and hellis paine.

❧ F I N I S.

¹ So A. C. D., but B. Forgiue.

² Lollaris, B.; Lollareis, C. D. The prayer to be delivered from the lair or teaching of the Lollards seems to show that, at the time he wrote this hymn, the author can hardly have made up his mind finally to break with the old Church.

³ A. C. D.; reigne, B.

⁴ A. C. D.; eirth, B.

¶ *Followis¹ the effect of the Sacrament of Baptisme, and first Institutioun thair of, declaring als waquhat singulare confort² we obtene be the samin.³*

Christ bapteist was be Johne in Jordan flude,
 For to fulfill for vs all rychteousnes,
 And our Baptisme dotit with sanctitude,
 And greit vertew, to wesche our sinfulness,
 To drowne the deide, and hell for to oppres,
 Quhen Goddis word with watter Junit⁴ be,
 Throw Faith, to gif vs lyfe Eternallie.

For our waiknes, God of his mercy sweit,
 To strenth our Faith ordand this Sacrament,
 In name of Father, Sone, and haly Spreit,
 To wesche our body, and in our mynde to prent
 That word and watter outward represent,
 Throw working of the Spirite in til⁵ our hart,
 That Christis blude weschtis away the sin in-
 (wart.

Our Baptisme is ane takin, and ane signe,
 That auld Adame suld drownit be and die,
 And grauit in the deide of Christ our King,
 To ryse with him to lyfe Eternallie,
 That is, we suld our sin ay mortifie,
 Resistand vice, leif haly, Just and trew,
 And, throw the Spirite,⁶ daylie our lyfe renew.

¹ A. C. D.; The effect, B.

³ A. B.; saming, C. D.

⁵ Spreit, D.; into, B. C. D.

² comfort, B. C. D.

⁴ A.; joynit, B. C. D.

⁶ A. C. D.; Spirit, B.

Be figure and be word, Christ did vs teiche ;
 The Fatheris voce¹ was hard sayand full cleir,
 Jesus, quhome I haif send my word to preiche,
 He is my weilbelouit Sone sa deir,
 In word, in wark, allone ze sall him heir ;
 In him is all my plesoure² and delyte,
 To him I zow commit baith small and greit.

The haly Gaist come down to testifie
 His doctrine, and his Baptisme to declair,
 (In forme of dow, sat on him soberlie)
 In our Baptisme to dout not nor dispair,
 Baith Father, Sone, and halie Gaist ar thair
 To be our gyde, the Trynitie him sell
 Hes geuin, in eird with vs to dwell.

Christ bad his Apostillis preiche til³ all creature
 That thay with sin and hell war all forlorne,
 Quha will beleif, and traist my wordis sure,
 And Baptist is, and new⁴ agane is borne,
 And Sathan and his warkis hes forsworne,
 Thay salbe saif, and neuer mair shall dee,
 Bot ring in glore⁴ perpetuall with me.

Quha will not this greit grace beleif, to hell
 Salbe condempnit with Eternall deid,
 Quhair Purgatorie and pardonis⁵ will not sell,
 And gude intent, thair Pylat plicht and leid,
Dum Ceremoneis, the quhilk thame self hes maid,
 And wowis⁶ vaine, quhilk thay did neuer keip,

¹ So A.; voyce, B.; voice, D.

³ to, B. D.

⁵ A. D.; pardounis, B.

² A.; plesour, C. D.; plesure, B.

⁴ A. B.; now, C. D.; glorie, D.

⁶ A. C. D.; vowis, B.

Sall gar thame gnasche thair teith, & eyis weip.

Our eine seis outward bot the watter cauld,
 Bot our pure faith the power spirituall
 Of Christis blude, inwart it dois behauld,
 Quhilk is ane leuand well Celestiall
 Zit for to purge the penitent¹ with all,
 Our natiue¹ sin in Adame to expell
 And all trespas committit be our sell.

Our Baptisme is not done all on ane day,
 Bot all our lyfe it lestit Identlie.
 Remissioun of our sin induris for ay;
 For thocht we fall throw greit² fragylitie,
 The cunnand, anis contract faithfullie
 Be our greit² God at Font, sall euer remaine,
 Als oft as we repent, and sin refraine,

We can not gif to God loving conding
 For sa greit grace, and mercy infinite,
 Quhilk institute this Sacrament and Sing,
 Quhais greit vertew in vers³ I can not dyte;
 Bot mony cunning Clerk of it dois wryte
 Full Christynlie, als the Catechismus⁴ buke
 Declairis it⁵ at lenth, quha list to luke.

¶ *The Supper of the Lord, and richt
 use of it, to be sung.*⁶

Our Sauour Christ, King of grace,
 With God the Father maid our peace,

¹ A. B. ; penetant, nature, C. D. ² grit, B. C. D. ³ A. C. D. ; signe, B.

⁴ Catechisme, B. C. D. ⁵ it omitted, B. C. D. ⁶ sung, B. C. D.

And, with his bludie woundis fell,¹
Hes vs redemit from the hell,

And he, that we suld nocht forzit,²
Gaif² vs his bodie for to eit
In forme of breid, and gaif² us syne,
His blude to drink, in forme of wyne,

¶ Quha will ressaif³ this Sacrament,
Suld haif trew faith, and sin repent,
Quha vsis it vnworthilie
Ressauis deide eternallie.

We suld to God, giue pryse⁴ and gloir,
That sched his blude vs to restoir,
Eit this in⁵ his remembrance,
In signe of thy deliuerance.

¶ Thow suld not dout, bot fast beleieue,
That Christis body sall releiue⁴
All thame that ar⁶ in heuines,
Repentand sair thair sinfulness,

Sic grace and mercy, nane can craif,⁴
Bot thay that trublit hartis haif;⁴
Feill thow than sin, and⁶ abstane⁷ thy sell,
Or thy rewaird salbe in hell.

¶ Christ sayis, sinnaris⁸ cum vnto me,
Quhilk myster hes, of my mercie ;
B. ij.

¹ A. B. ; feill, D.

⁴ prais, resauie, traist, haist, D.

⁷ abstene, B. D.

² forzet, gaue, B.

⁵ is, B.

⁸ sinners, B.

³ ressaue, B. D.

⁶ omitted ar, D. ; and, B.

Neidis thow nocht my medicyne,
I lose¹ my paine, and trauell tyne.¹

Giue thow thy self thy saull culd win,
In vaine I deit for thy sin :
My Supper is nocht graithit² for thé,
Giue³ thow can mak thy self supplie.

¶ Will thow thy sinfull lyfe confes,
And with this wark thy faith expres,
Sa ar ze worthie, small and greit,
And it sall strenth zour faith perfite.

And thow sall thankfull be thairfoir,
And loue thy God for euer moir,
Thy nyctbour⁴ lufe, and als supplie
His neid, as Christ hes done for thé.

¶ CERTANE GRACIS TO BE SUNG OR SAID
BEFOIR MEIT OR EFTER.⁵

 *Grace befoir meit.*⁶

ALL meit & drink was creat be the Lord,
Ressaut for to be with thankfulnes,
Till all faithful knaweris⁷ of the trew word
To satisfie their neid with sobernes.
All fude is gude, the quhilk God creat hes,
And nocht to be refusit ony day,
Onlie to God geuing the louing ay ;
Be prayer, & be Goddis word, all meit
Unto the clene all thingis is clene to eit ;
Thairfoir

¹ lois, B. ; travelling, D.

⁴ nichtbour, B. ; nichbour, D.

⁶ Title omitted in B. D.

² A. B. ; greithit, D.

⁵ befoir or eftir meit, B.

⁷ knawers, B.

³ gif, B.

Thairfoir we pray his godlie Maiestie
 To blis¹ our meit, and all our cumpanie ;
 And saif vs fra exces, and drunkenness.
 Efter our meit, to thank his gentileness.

¶ CHRIST learnt vs, on God how we suld call,
 And bad vs pray, syne hecht to heir vs all :
 Our Father God, quhilk is in heuin sa hie,
 Thy glorious name, with vs mot hallowit be.
 Lat cum to vs thy Kingdome and thy gloir,
 Thy will mot be fulfillit euer moir,
 In eird, as it is in heuin, but variance ;
 Gif² vs this day our daylie sustenance,
 Forgif² our dettis for Christis paine and smart,
 As we forgiue our dettouris³ with our hart.
 And leid us nocht into temptatioun,
 Bot, for Christ Jesus bitter passioun,
 Deliuer vs from euillis spirituall
 And corporall, now and perpetuall.
 Saif vs gude Lord for thy promis diuine,
 For Kingdome, power, gloir,⁴ and all is thyne,
 For ay, amen. Lat it be sa, euer, we thé pray.⁵

¶ WE thank our God baith kynde and liberall,
 His grace and mercy dois euer indure :
 He geuis sustentation to vs all,
 To man and beist, and euerie creature,
 And he allone, dois feid baith riche and pure.
 Thairfoir to God be gloir allanerlie,
 Throw Jesus Christ, we thank him hartfullie.

¹ So A. D. ; blys, B.

² So also D. ; giue, forgive, B.

³ detteris, B. D.

⁴ D. has "glorie," but omits the "and" following.

⁵ So also D. ; B. omits this line.

¶ *Say the Lordis prayer abone
writtin, befoir Supper.*¹

All Creature on the Lord dependis,
Thair sustenance, for to ressaif² of thé,
Thair meit & drink in time to thame thow sendis :
Thow opinnis furth thy hand full gratuslie,
And satifyis² all flesche abundantlie.
Blis vs gude Lord, into thir giftis gude,
Quhilk thow hes geuin to vs to be our³ fude.

*Say the Lordis prayer, or ane part
of the Catechisme efter Supper.*¹

To our gude God, of warldis Lord and King,
Full of mercie, onlie trew and wyse,
Be louing, honour, gloir, without ending,
Kingdome, Impyre, hiest renown and pryse,
With mynd and mouth, gif we a thousand syse.
All gloir to him, quhilk allone worthie is,
Asking, for Christ, to bring vs to his blis.

¶ *Say the Lordis prayer abone
writtin, ane grace to be sung.*¹

WE thank thé God of thy gudnes,
Throw Jesus Christ our gratius⁴ lord,

¹ B. omits these headings ; D. has aboue for abone.

² ressaue, satisfyis, B. D.

³ So A. D. ; daylie fude, B.

⁴ gracious, B. ; gratus, D.

For thy greit mercy and gentilnes,
 Quhilk feidis vs, with thy sweit word,
 Sen, all that euer tuke lyfe of thé,
 Thow satisfyis¹ aboundantlie,
 We praise thé all with ane accord.

 As thow hes fed the² sinfull flesche,
 Quhilk sune³ sall die, and turne in az;³
 Siclyke the sillie saull refresche,
 The quhilk immortall creat was.
 God for thy grace and mercy greit,
 Grant vs ane steidfast Faith perfyte,
 And in thy gloir with thé to pas.

To God on hicht be louing maist,
 Quhilk lousis sin allanerlie,
 Till all that will repent and traist
 On Jesus Christ his Sone onlie.
 Thow makis thame thy Sone and Air,
 Throw him thow will thame saif from cair,
 To quhome be gloir eternallie.

 *Followis⁴ spirituall sangis, and ane
 Confessioun of sin, with ane prayer.*

SORE I complaine of Sin,
 And with King Dauid weip :
 I feill my hart within
 The wraith of God full deip,

¹ So B. D. ; satisfyis, A. ² this, B. ³ sone, B. D. ; asse, B. ; ash, D.

⁴ B. omits "Followis," and reads "Certane Spirituall Sangis, togidder with ane Confessioun of Sin and ane Prayer."

I wyte my greit trespas
 Is cause of all my wo,
 Quhair with God greuit was
 Full sore and oft also.

¶ O God I me confes,
 Ane sinfull creature,
 Full of all wretchitnes ¹
 Fragill, vaine, vylde, and pure.
 Thair is na gude in me,
 Bot pryde, lust, and desyre,
 And warldis vanitie,
 The way to hellis fyre.

¶ Except God do me saue,
 From hell and endles paine,
 My sin will me dissaue,
 Quhilk I can not refraine.
 My onlie hope and traist,
 Help my fragillitie
 My sinnis to detest
 Resistand constantlie.

☞ O cast me nocht ² away,
 For my greit ³ sin ⁴ O Lord ;
 I grant my vices all :
 Blasphemit hes thy word.
 God, for thy greit ³ mercie,
 And Christis woundis wyde,
 Ane steidfast Faith grant me
 Allone

¹ A. B. ; wretchednesse, D.

² not, B. D.

³ grit, B.

⁴ sinne, B. D.

Allone to be my gyde.

¶ Christ Goddis Sone allone,
 Victour of deid and hell,
 Thow tuke my nature one,
 My sinnis¹ to expell;
 And gaif thy self to plaige,
 Me Catue to conuoy
 To my rycht heritage,
 From pain to heuinlie ioy.

✎ Thy seruand Lord defend,
 Quhome thow hes bocht sa deir,
 Trew Preicheouris² to me send
 Thy word to schaw me cleir.
 Lat me my lyfe amend,
 And thairin perseueir;
 Grant me ane blyssit end,
 Quhen I sall part from heir.

¶ O Lord God haly Spreit,
 Full of beningnitie,³
 Trew Christis⁴ promis sweit,
 Teiche me the veritie:
 Expell my Ignorance,
 My sinnis mortifie,
 Grant me perseuerance
 Unto the end trewlie.

F I N I S.

¹ sinnes, B.

³ benignitie, B. D.

² So A. D.; preichours, B.

⁴ So A. D.; Christs, B.

¶ FOLLOWIS¹ ANE SANG² OF OUR CORUPTIT³
NATURE, AND THE ONLIE REMEID THAIROF.

WE wratcheit sinnaris pure,
Our sin hes vs forlorne :
Thairin all creature, consauit is and borne.
Sin hes wrocht vs sic paine,
That we without remeid
Condamnit⁴ ar & slaine to hell the deuill & deid.
Lord haif⁵ mercy on vs, Christ haue mercy &c.

¶ Our warkis can nocht be,
As dois the Law requyre,
Nor 3it can satisfie, our Fatheris wraith & Ire :
Na deid can mak vs fre
From our greit sinfulness,
Bot Goddis Sone must die, for our vnricht-
Lord haif mercy, Christ haif &c. (eousness.

¶ Or had nocht⁶ Christ bene send,
Cled in our vylde nature,
Fra hell vs to defend,
Our dedelie wound to cure,
And willinglie to die,
Fra sin to mak vs clene,
We had eternallie
In hell condampnit bene.
Lord haif mercy, Christ haif mercy, Lord, &c.

 Man now hes thy peace,

¹ B. omits "Followis."

² Sung, A. and D.

³ corrupt, B. D.

⁴ Condempnit, B.

⁵ So A. B.; haue, D. throughout.

⁶ not, B. D.

Sic lufe God schawis thé,
 He takis thé in his grace,
 His mortall Enemye,
 Throw Faith in Christ sa kynde,
 Quhilk frelie gaif him sell,
 On croce for to be pynde,
 To saif vs from the hell.
 Lord haif mercy, Christ haif mercy, Lord, &c.

[This we suld euer beleue,
 And nocht despair for sin :
 For hell can not vs greue,
 The deide nor Deuill thairin :
 We ar maid Just and rycht,
 And fréd from panis sore,
 Throw Christ that Lord of mycht,
 Blissit for euer more.
 Lord haif mercy, Christ haif mercy, Lord, &c.

Thairfor lat vs loue and pryse,¹
 God the Father feruentlie :
 We thank ane thousand syse,
 His Sonnis² Maiestie :
 We pray the haly Gaist
 Our sin to mortifie,
 And nocht² despair, bot traist,
 Goddis word maist faithfullie.
 Lord haif mercy, Christ haif mercy, Lord, &c.

ANE SANG OF THE FLESCHE AND THE SPIRIT.³

¹ A. B. ; praise, D. ² Sones, not, B. ³ Spreit, B., and so throughout.

ALL Christin men tak tent and leir,
 How Saull and body ar¹ at weir;
 Upone this eird, baith lait and air,
 With cruell battell Identlie,
 And ane may nocht² ane vther flé.

¶ *The flesche.*

The flesche said, sen I haif haill,
 In³ will in zouth, with lustis daill,
 Or aige⁴ with sorrow me assaill,
 With ioy I will my tyme ouerdryue,
 And will nocht⁴ with my lustis stryue.

¶ *The Spirite.*

The Spirite said, thocht I charge thé nocht,
 Dreid God, and haif⁴ his Law in thocht.
 Thow hecht quhen thow to Font was brocht,
 Efter his Law, lust to refraine,
 And nocht till wirk his word againe.

¶ *The flesche.*

The flesche said I am stark and wucht,⁵
 To wacht gude wyne, fresche, cald and brycht,⁵
 And tak my plesour day and nycht,⁵
 With singing, playing, and to dance,
 And set on sax and seuin the chance.

¶ *The Spirite.*

The Spirite said think on the ryche man,
 Quhilk all tyme in his lustis ran,
 Body and Saull he loissit than,
 And syne⁶ was buryit into hell,
 As Jesus Christ hes said him sell.

¶ *The flesche.*

¹ is, B.

² So A. D.; nane may not, B.

³ *Sic* for "I," as in B.

⁴ A.; age, not, haue, B. D.

⁵ wicht, bricht, nicht, B.

⁶ sone, B.; synde, D.

The flesche said, quhat hald I of this,
 Laser yneuch¹ and tyme thair is
 In age for till amend my mis,
 And from my vitious lyfe conuert,
 Quhen sadnes hes ouerset my hart.

¶ *The Spirite.*

The Spirite said power thow hes none
 In zouth,² nor zit in eild bygone,
 With twingling³ of ane eye anone,
 God sall thé tak at euin, or⁴ morne,
 Na certane tyme set thé beforne.

¶ *The flesche.*

The flesche said, all tyme air and lait,
 I sé all warldlie wyse estait
 Hald lust vertew, in thair consait,
 With thame I will persew my weird,
 Als lang as I leue on this eird.

¶ *The Spirite.*

The Spirite said, zit sall cum the day,
 The saull sall part the body fray,
 Than quhat sall help thy game or play,
 Quhen thow man⁴ turnit be in as,
 As first in eird, quhen thow maid was.

¶ *The flesche.*

The flesche said, thow hes vincust me,
 I traist eternall glore to sé;
 Christ grant that I may cum thairby.
 Now will I to my God returne,
 Repent my sin, rycht sore I murne.

¶ *The Spirite.*

¹ So also D. ; aneuch, B.

² youcht, D.

³ twinkling, B. D.

⁴ A. D. ; and, B. ; mon, B.

The Spirite said, nane to schame I driue,
 Ane contrite hart help God aliue,
 The flesche man ¹ die, with paine and striue
 For it was borne to that intent,
 In eird with wormis for ² to be rent.

¶ *The flesche.*

The flesche said, O Lord God of peace,
 Help me to turne, throw Christis grace,
 O haly Gaist ³ my Faith incres,³
 That I may thole ³ this eirdlie noy,
 My hope is in eternall ioy.

¶ *The Spirite.*

The Spirite said, now I haif my micht,
 Thocht I be ane vnworthie Knicht :
 Thow God the quhilk is onlie richt,
 Thow saif me fra the Deuillis net,
 Thairfoir thow on the Croce was plet.

¶ *The Dyter.*

¶ Now hes this Ballat heir ane end,
 God grant ilk man, his hart sa kend,
 To sin na mair, syne to Christ wend,
 Than sall he turne againe to vs,
 And giue vs his Eternall blis.⁴

¶ F I N I S.

¶ ANE SANG OF THE CROCE, AND THE
 FRUTE THAIROF.

¹ A. D. ; mon, B.

² A. ; wormes, B. D. ; *for* omitted, B.

³ A. ; Gost, incresse, D. ; thoill, B.

⁴ blys, B. D.

CUM heir, sayis Goddis Sone to me,
 Sinnaris that heuie ladin be,
 I will zour sillie Saule refresche,
 Cum zung¹ and auld, baith man and wyfe,
 I will zow giue Eternall lyfe,
 Thocht trublit² heir sore³ be zour flesche.

My zok is sweit, my burding small,
 Quha drawis efter me thay sall
 Eschaip eternall dede and fyre ;
 For I sall help thame in thair draucht,
 That thay sall cum, as I haif taucht,
 To gloir and joy, and heuin Impyre.

Quhat I haif⁴ teichit lait and air,
 Quhat I haif⁴ tholit les and mair,
 That preis zow euer to fulfill :
 And thocht zour flesche be heir opprest,
 Zit all thing wirk sall for the best ;
 For sa is rycht and Goddis will.

The warld wald sauit be full faine,⁵
 And⁶ cum to gloir, but Croce or paine,
 Quhilk Christis flock must suffer heir :
 But paine thair is nane vther way
 To cum to gloir, and put away
 Eternall hellis paine but peir.

That the faithfull must the Croce indure,
 Witnes beiris all Creature,

¹ A. ; zoung, B. D.

⁴ haue, B.

² A. ; troublit, B. ; trowblit, D.

⁵ and saine, B. ; and faine, D.

³ A. D. ; sair, B.

⁶ Wald, *Dalyell*.

Subdewit vnto vanitie :

Quha will not thole,¹ in Christis name,
The Deuill sall wirk him sic ane schame,
With peirles paine perpetuallie.

To day ane man, is fresche and fair,
To ² morne he lyis seik and sair,
Syne duffullie is ³ domeit to dede :
Euin lyke as in the feild ane flour,
The day is sweit, the morne is sour,
Sa all this wratcheit warld sall feade.⁴

The godles dreidis sair to die,
Bot quhen he can, na forther flee,⁵
And faine his sinfull lyfe wald mend,
Thay gryp sa fast his geir to get,
The sillie Saul is quyte forzet,
Quhill haistelie gais out his aind.⁵

Quhen he persauis na remeid,
Than greuouuslie he gais to deid,
And grungeand ⁶ geuis vp the gaist.
Sair I suspect, God accuse ⁷
His sectouris, and him self refuse,
That sa vnfaithfullie deceist.

The ryche man, helpis not his gude,
The Nobill nocht his Royall blude,
For thay sall baith thair quarrell tyne ;
Thocht ane had all this warld sa wyde,
Zit

¹ A. D. ; thoill, B. ² So also D. ; The morne, B. ³ D. ; B. omit "is."

⁴ A. D. ; faid, B. ⁵ no farther flie, end, D. ⁶ gruncheand, B. ; grugeand, D.

⁷ A. D. ; God *do* accuse, B.

With gold and precious stanis of pryde.
Zit he sall die, with dule and pyne.¹

Knowlege² concernis not the Clerk,
Nor Hypocrite his haly wark :
Bot thay but dout, with dede² man³ dwell.
Quha will nocht haill to Christ him giue,
Quhill in this present lyfe he liue,
Foreuir mair, sall die in hell.

Mark weill thairfoir, my sonnis sweit,
How Christis croce, is for zow meit :
O moue zow not, in mynde thairfoir,
Bot at his word, stand steidfastlie,
And with him suffer pacientlie,
Giue ze wald enter in his gloir.

C Do gude for euill, and leid zour lyfe
Without reprufe, but pryde or stryfe,
And thole³ the warldis wraith to rage,
O enter be that narrow rod,
Gif gloir and vengeance vnto God,
And he thair cruell Ire sall swage.

Quhen that zour flesche hes all the will,
And may zour lustis all fulfill,
Ze ar but dout the Feindis pray.
God sendis zow the croce thairfoir,
To mortifie zour flesche sa soir,⁴
To saue zour sillie Saull for ay.

¹ B. and D. erroneously transpose the last two lines of this stanza.

² Knowledge, deid, B. D.

³ mon, thoill, B.

⁴ So A. and B., but C. and D. read "thairfoir."

And quhen this schort pyne to ¹ zow greif,
 Than think on hell, the lang mischeif,
 Quhair mony ane for ay sall murne,
 And saull and body sall remaine
 For euir mair, with cruell paine,
 Endles for ay, without returne.

Bot he sall efter warldlie pyne,
 Reioyis ² with Christ, withouttin fyne,
 Quhair na myndis memoriall
 Can think, nor tung can tell the tryne,
 Nor haif the gloir, quhilk sall propyne
 That mychtie Lord vnto vs all.

For quhat Eternall God of peace,
 Hes promiseist throw his Spirite of grace,
 And syne sworne be his haly name,
 That he sall hald baith trew and sune.
 God grant that we may sé his Throne,
 Throw Faith in Jesus Christ. Amen.

❧ F I N I S.

❧ FOLLOWIS ³ ANE CONSOLATIOUN IN AD- UERSITIE, OF THE SCRIPTURE.

BLISSIT is he quhome God dois correct,
 Thairfoir his scourge sé thow not neglect ⁴
 For he it is, quhilk geuis wan ⁵ & wound,
 And suddanlie he will mak haill and sound.
 He

¹ So A. and B., but C. and D. have "do."

² Reioyce, B. C. D.

³ Followis, omitted B.

⁴ neglect, B. C. D.

⁵ So in A. B. C. D., but "wand" in all in l. 1, p. 33.

He wil thé stryke with his maist Fatherly wand,
 Syne thé releue with his maist mercyful hand.
 God¹ will thé slay, and gif thé lyfe anone,
 And thé returne, thocht thow to graue wer gone.
 God will thé sune² bring into pouertie,
 Syne gif thé greit ryches abundantlie.
 He will thé set in to ane law degré,
 Syne thé exalt, that euerie man may sé.
 Quhome God ressaifis² to his sone and air,
 Him will he scourge with plagues sad³ and sair.
 Thairfoir vnder the Croce thow perseueir,
 Than,⁴ as a Father, sall God to thé appeir.
 Quha is ane sone, and will not pacientlie
 His Father thole,⁴ with all humilitie,
 He schawis him as he war bastard borne,
 And heritage fra him wer all forlorne.
 And sen we⁵ our fleschelic Father dreid,
 For eirdlie thing our body for to feid,
 How mekill mair our Father Spirituall
 Suld we obey, to lyfe⁶ perpetuall.
 All Croce appeiris presentlie distres,
 Woide⁷ of all ioy, but full of painfulnes :
 Bot efter wart, it sall gif peace and rest,
 Thocht for a tyme with paine we be opprest,
 The paine, that is now present, schort and licht,
 And lestis but a moment in our sicht,
 Abone mesour,⁸ sall wirk Eternall gloir
 In till our saull, behalding not thairfoir
 The present paine, quhilk is befoir our eine,
 Bot luke⁹ on that, quhilk now ma¹⁰ not be sene,

¹ So A. C. D. ; And, B.

² A. B. D. ; said, L.

³ And sen *that* we, B.

⁴ A. B. D. ; Voyde, L.

⁵ So also B. D. ; luk, C.

⁶ A. ; sone, ressaui, B. C. D.

⁷ A. D. ; then, thoill, B.

⁸ lufe, C. D.

⁹ So A. C. ; mesure, B. ; measure, L. D.

¹⁰ may, B. C. D.

All ioy esteme, my brether, ane and all,
 Quhen into diuers trublis ze do fall,
 And knawis that of zour faith it is a preif,
 To wirk in zow pacience for zour releif.
 As of the Croce, ze ar companzeoun,
 Sa sall ze be of consolatioun.
 Faithfull is God, and on zow hes pietie,¹
 And will not thole² zow temptit³ for to be,
 Abone⁴ zour strenth, bot will quhen ze leist wein,⁵
 Gif zow sic grace, that ze sall weill sustein.
 Just mennis lyfe is in⁵ the Lordis hand,
 Torment of deid may not thame hald in band.
 Thocht, befor men, thay thole² adversitie,
 Thair hope is full of Immortalitie.
 God knawis Innocentis temptatioun,
 To saif thame fra thair greit vexatioun :
 And sall ressaif⁶ againe the latter day,
 The wickit, for to byrne⁶ in hell for ay.

¶ F I N I S.

¶ FOLLOWIS⁷ THE FORLORNE SONE, AS
 IT IS WRITTIN IN THE XV CHAP-
 OF SANCT LUC.⁸

S INNARIS⁷ vnto my sang aduert,
 Quhilk Christ into his Vangell kend :
 And from zour sinfull lyfe conuert,

Quhair

¹ So also C. D.; pitie, B.

³ Temptit in B. and subsequent editions.

⁵ wene, B.; list wen, into, D.

⁷ So A. C. D., but not in B.; sinners, B.

² So also C. D.; thoill, B.

⁴ A.; Aboue, B. D.

⁶ burne, B.; ressaue, B. D.

⁸ A. C.; Luk, B.; Luck, D.

Quhair with ze do zour God offend,
 For Christ in his sweit Parabill,
 To saif vs is ful plyabill,
 Gif we repent and to him wend.

Ane certane man of ryche substance,
 Had Sonnis twa, till him full deir,
 And sune¹ with schort deliuerance,
 The zungest² spak in³ this maneir,
 Father gif me my part of geir,
 Quhilk me belangis les and mair,
 I will na mair be thirlit heir.

The Father did his gude deuyde,
 Betuix thame, bot the zungest² Sone
 Wald na mair with his Father byde,
 Bot tuke his part, and furth is gone,
 In till ane strange & far cuntrie,
 And, leuand thair rycht ryatouslie,
 He waistit all his geir anone.

Quhen all was gone, thair rais fra hand
 Ane derth, quhilk maid the vittell scant,⁴
 Baith far and neir, throuch all the land,
 And he throw neid begouth to want;
 Than to ane Cietinar he zeid,
 Quhilk send him furth his swyne to feid,
 For fault of fude, he was full fant.

He wald haif eitín with the swyne,

¹ sone, B. C. D.

³ So also C. D.; on, B.

² So also C. D.; zoungest, B.

⁴ So also C.; skant, B.; scantid D.

His hungrie stomok¹ to fulfill :
 Bot thocht he suld for hunger tyne,
 Zit nane wald gif him leif thairtill.
 Quhen he come till him self againe,
 This him allone he culd complaine,
 In till his mynde with murning still.

How mony seruandis for thair waige,²
 Hes fude in to my Fatheris hous ?
 And I for hunger die and raige,²
 Bot my Father is gracious,
 Thairfoir till him, I will me dres :
 And schaw my sin, and my distres,
 And say with voice full pietious.³

O Father, I haif⁴ bene to bauld,
 Sinnand contrair the heuin and thé,
 And nocht⁵ worthie, that men me hauld,
 Na mair thy Sone, in ony degré ;
 As ane of thy seruandis thow⁶ me mak.⁶
 With that he did his Jornay⁶ tak
 Hame till his Father haistelie.

And quhen he come bot zit afar,
 His Father had compassioun,
 And ran him till, or he was war,
 And gaif⁷ him consolatioun :
 And in his armis he did him fang,
 And euer he kissit him amang,
 With freindlie salutatioun.

The

¹ hountrie stomak, B.; stommok, C. D.

² So A. C. D.; wage, rage, B.

³ pitious, B.; peteous, C.; piteous, D.

⁴ haue, B. C. D.; beene, D.

⁵ not, B. C. D.

⁶ thow omitted in B.; make, Jorney, D.

⁷ gaue, B.

The Sone said, Father, of greit nicht,
 I knaw that I haif¹ sinnit soir :
 Contrair the heuin, and in thy sycht,
 And I am worthie now no moir
 That ony me, thy Sone suld call :
 Bot his Father full liberall,
 Callit his seruandis him befoir.

And kyndelie to thame can he say,
 Ze bring me furth the best cleithing.
 And cleith my Sone, courtlie and gay :
 And on his finger ze put ane ring,
 Ze set on schone vpone his feit,
 The quhilk are trim and wounder meit,
 That he be honest in all thing.

And slay that Calf quhilk now is maid
 Sa fat, and lat vs mak gud cheir,
 For this my Sone the quhilk² was deid,
 Again on lyfe, is haill and feir.
 My Sone was loste,³ and now is found.
 And thay within ane lytill stound
 Began to myrrie be but weir.

The eldest to the feild was gone,
 And quhen that he hame cumand⁴ wes ;
 And hard the menstrallie⁵ anone,
 The dansing, and the greit blyithnes,
 Ane of his seruandis he did call,
 And said to him, quhat menis all

¹ haue, B. D.² quhilk *now* was, B. C. D.³ loist, B.; lost, D.⁴ A.; cummand, B.; command, D.⁵ So also C. D.; menstraly, B.

This glaidnes, and this merynes?

Than¹ answerit he, and said him till,
 Thy brother is cum hame againe,
 Thairfoir his Father hes gart kill
 His weill fed Calf, and is full faine,
 That saif ressaut him hes he.
 The eldest wraith was and angrie,
 And zeid nocht in, throw greit disdaine :

And than¹ come furth, his Father kynde,
 And prayit him rycht² feruentlie,
 Bot he answerit rycht² proude in mynde,
 O Father myne, how lang haif I
 Thy trew and faithfull seruand bene,
 And neuer zit brak thy biddene,³
 Bot thé obeyit faithfullie.

Zit gaif thow not, of thy ryches,
 Sa mekle as ane small kidde⁴ to me,
 That I mycht mak sum merynes,⁴
 And with my Luffaris blyith to be.
 Bot now because, is cum againe
 Thy Sone, quhilk waistit hes in vaine
 Thy gudis into harlatrie :⁵

That calf, quhilk fosterit was sa fair,
 Thow hes gart kill, at his plesour.
 His Father said, my Sone, and air,⁶
 Of all my ryches and tresour,⁷
 Quhat

¹ So C. D. ; Then, B.

² richt, B. D.

³ A. B. D. ; biddene, C.

⁴ kyd, mirrynes, B.

⁵ harlotrie, D.

⁶ are, C.

⁷ tresour, B.

Quhat euer I haif,¹ all that is thyne,
 And thow art euer, with me and myne,
 And all is haill into thy cure.

Thairfoir to vs it was full meit
 For to reioyis,² and blyith to be,
 With all our hart, and all our Spirite,¹
 Thy brother safe and sound to sé.
 For he was loste,² and now is win,
 And he was deid from all his kin,
 And now aliue againe is he.

Our God and Father is full kynde,
 To Sinnaris that ar penitent,
 With all thair hart, and all thair mynde,
 Schawand warkis, that thay repent.
 And giue³ in Christis blude thay traist,
 Than sall he neuer thame detest,
 Bot saif thame, that they be not schent.

¶ F I N I S.

¶ FOLLOWIS⁴ ANE SANG OF THE RYCHE
 GLUTTOUN, AND PURE LAZARUS,
 AS IS WRITTIN IN THE xvj⁵ CHAP.
 OF SANCT LUC.⁶

Faithfull in Christ vse zour ryches⁷ richt,
 Not to zour lust and sensualitie :

¹ haue, Spreit, B. C. D. ² reioyce, loist, B. ³ gif, B. ⁴ Omitted, B.
⁵ xv., B. C. D. ⁶ So C. ; Luk, B. ; S. Luck, D. ⁷ riches, B. C. D.

Bot all tyme help the¹ pure with all zour nicht,
 For in the frute sall knawin be the tré,
 And gude and euill, sall baith rewardit be
 With heuinlie gloir, and hell sa terrabill,
 To that effect spak Christ this parabill.

Ane certane man was riche and coistlie² cled
 With purpour silk, heich and presumptuous,²
 And euerie day deliciuslie him fed.
 Thair was alsua a pure hecht Lazarus
 Lay seik at the zet of this gluttounis hous.
 Throw sairis smart, he had ane peirles pyne,
 And wantit fude quhen he wald fanest³ dyne.

To satisfie his seiklie appetyte,
 He wald haif³ eitin of the crummis small,
 Quhilk fell downe fra his burde⁴ of greit delyte,
 Bot nane to gif him was sa liberall :
 The doggis did thair office naturall,
 And oft thay did this catiue⁴ man refresche,
 Lickand the fylth furth of his laithlie⁵ flesche.

It chancit sa, this begger did decease,
 Syne caryit was be Angellis⁶ gracious
 In Abrahamis bosome, in heuinlie rest and peace,
 And this riche man, that was sa ryatous,
 Deceissit als, syne buryit glorious :
 In hellis paine he liftit vp his eine.⁷
 And sune⁸ afar⁹ of Abraham has he sene.

Quhen

¹ So also C. D. ; that, B.

³ faintest, haue, B. C. D.

⁷ ene, B. ; eine, C. D.

² costlie, hecht and presumptuous, D.

⁴ buird, catyve, B.

⁵ laidlie, D.

⁶ angels, B.

⁸ syne, B. C. D.

⁹ efter, D.

Quhen Lazarus he saw with him also
 In his bosome, he said with drierie spreit :
 Father Abraham, haif mercy on my wo,
 Send Lazarus, his finger for to weit,
 And cule¹ my tung, with cald watter and sweit,
 For I am torment sair into this flame.
 Than answerit him our Father Abraham,

Remember, sone, that thow ressauit hes,
 Into thy lyfe, thy plesour in all thing,
 And contrairwyse,² Lazarus had distres,
 Bot now he is in joy and conforting,³
 And thow art⁴ in wo and tormenting :
 And als betwix vs thair is sa greit a⁵ space,
 That nane may cum till vther be na cace.

And than he said, O Father, I thé pray,
 Unto my Fatheris hous thow wald him send,
 That he my fyve brether aduerteis may,
 Leist thay in to this cairfull place descend.
 Bot Abraham said, lat⁵ thame repent and mend,
 And als thay haif the Prophetis & Moses law,
 Lat thame heir thame, gif thay the way wald knaw.

But he said, na,⁶ my Father Abraham kynde,
 Gif ony to the quick zeid from the deide,
 Trewlie thay suld repent with hart & mynde :
 Bot not⁷ the les,⁸ Abraham this answer maid,
 Gif thai heir not⁷ the Law, quhilk suld thame leide,
 Than sall thay not in ony wayis beleif,

Thocht

¹ So also C. D. ; cuill, B.

² contrariwise, B. C. D.

³ A. C. ; comforting, B. D.

⁴ art *now*, D.

⁵ So also C. D. ; ane, let, B.

⁶ So C. ; Nay, B. ; Na, D.

⁷ A. B. ; nocht, D.

⁸ lesse, D.

Thocht ane from deid suld ryse¹ thame to releif.

Unto the pure thairfoir be pietifull,
 Quhill ze ar heir schaw thame zour cheritie,
 Till freind and fa be all tyme mercyfull,
 As ze forgif, ze sall forgeuin be.
 Mortifie lust, and sensualitie,
 Conforme zow not, to warldlie pomp & pryde,
 Dreid God, lufe man, refraine lust at all tyde.

¶ F I N I S.

¶ FOLLOWIS² THE PRINCIPALL POINTIS OF THE PASSIOUN, SCHORTLIE CORRECTIT.

Help, God, the formar of all thing,
 That to thy gloir may be my dyte ;
 Be baith at end and beginning,
 That I may mak ane sang perfyte
 Of Jesus Christis Passioun,
 Sinnaris onlie Saluatioun,
 As witnes is³ thy word in write.

Thy word for euer sall remaine,
 As in his buke wrytis Esay,⁴
 Baith heuin, and eird sall turne againe,
 Or thy trew word cum to decay.
 Thow can not lyke ane man repent,
 To change thy purpois or intent,
 Bot steidfast is thy word for ay.

Jesus

¹ So also C. D., but B. transposes "suld ryse from deid."

² Omitted in B.

³ So C. ; witnessis, B. ; witesse is, D.

⁴ So also C. D. ; Isay, B.

Jesus, the Fatheris word allone,
 Discendit in ane Virgin pure,
 With meruellis greit and mony one,
 And be Judas, that fals tratour,
 That Lamb¹ for sober summe was sauld,
 And gaif his lyfe, for cause he wald
 Redeme all sinfull Creature.

Quhen eitin was the Paschall² Lamb,
 Christ tuke the breid his hand² within,
 Blissing it brak it, gaif the same
 Till his Apostillis mair and min.
 Eit that, for my body is, this,
 Quhilk for zour saikis geuin is,
 In till remissioun of zour sin.

Siclyke he gaif thame³ for to drink
 In wyne his blude, the quhilk was sched,
 Upon his precious deid to think,
 On him remembrance to be maid.
 Quha eitis this blissit Sacrament,
 Worthelie with trew intent,
 Sall neuer sé Eternall deid.

For cause thay knew him to⁴ depart,
 Thay straif⁵ quha suld be ouerest :
 Bot Jesus said, with humill⁶ hart,
 Princes ar repute Nobilest,
 The quhilk rewlis moste⁷ awfullie ;
 Sa amang⁸ zow it sall nocht⁹ be,

¹ Lambe, B. D.

² Pascall, B. ; handis, D.

³ gaue them, B.

⁴ So also C. D. ; till, B.

⁵ strife, D.

⁶ humbill, B. C. D.

⁷ maist, B. C. D.

⁸ among, D.

⁹ not, B. C. D.

Bot quha is maist, sall serue the leist.

Jesus wusche¹ his Apostillis feit,
 Schawand exempill of lawlynes,
 And chargeit thame with wordis sweit,
 That lufe amang thame suld increas :
 For thairby it sall² cum to lycht,
 That ze ar my Disciplis rycht,
 Giue ze amang zow lufe posses.

Efter his³ prayer, passit he,
 And met the Jewis, quhilk him socht.
 Quhen thay had bound him cruellie,
 Befoir the Jugeis⁴ thay him brocht :
 First thay him scurgit, and for scorne
 Him crownit with ane Crowne of thorne,
 Syne dampnit him to deide for nocht.

That Prince on Croce thay lyftit⁵ on hicht,
 For our Redemptioun, that thocht sa lang :
 He said, I thirst, with all my nicht,
 To saif mankynde fra panis strang.
 He that all warldis was beforne,
 Come⁶ downe of Marie to be borne,
 For our trespas on Croce he hang.

Than he his heid culd inclyne,
 As wrytis Johne, and gaif the Gaist,
 And of⁶ the Croce taine was syne,
 And laid in graue ; bot sune⁷ in haist
 Leuand

¹ wusche, B. C. D.

² it suld, B. C. ; suld it, D.

³ this, B. C. D.

⁴ Judges, B. C.

⁵ So also B. C. ; lift, Came, D.

⁶ So also C. D. ; off, B.

⁷ sone, B. C. D.

Leuand he rais, on the thrid day,
 And to his Apostillis did say,
 To thame appeirand ¹ maist and leist.

And syne he did his Apostillis teiche,
 Throw all the warld for to pas,
 And till ² all Creature for to preiche,
 As thay of him instructit was.
 Quha Bapteist is, and will beleue,
 Eternall deide sall nocht ² thame greue,
 Bot salbe sauit mair and les.

Sanct Luke wryting his ³ assentioun,
 Thocht present ay with vs he be,
 As Scripture makis mentioun,
 That is to say, with vs is he
 Be his sweit word, steidfast but fail,
 Contrair the quhilk, can not preuail
 Sathan nor hellis tyrannie,

Ane confortour, ⁴ to vs he did send,
 Quhilk from the Father did proceed,
 To gyde vs trewlie to the end,
 In inwart thocht and outward deid,
 Call on the Lord, our gyde and lycht, ⁵
 To leide vs in his Law full rycht, ⁵
 And be our help in all our neid.

Pray for all men in generall,
 Suppose ⁶ thay wirk vs richt or wrang :

¹ So also C. D. ; appeirit, B. ² tell, D. ; not, B. C. D. ³ writtin *in* his, C. D.

⁴ So A. C. D. ; conforter, B. ⁵ licht, richt, B. C. D. ⁶ suppois, B.

Pray for zour¹ Prince in speciall.
 Thocht thay be Just or Tyranis strang
 Obey; for sa it aucht to be.
 In presoun² for the veritie,
 Ane faithfull brother maid this sang.

¶ F I N I S.

¶ FOLLOWIS³ ANE SANG OF THE EUANGELL
 CONTENAND THE EFFECT OF THE SAMIN.

BE blyith⁴ all Christin men and sing,
 Dance & mak myrth with al⁵ zour micht;
 Christ hes vs kyithit⁴ greit conforting,⁶
 Quhairfoir we may reioyis⁷ of rycht;
 Ane wark to wounder that is wrocht,
 Christ, with his blude, full deir vs bocht,
 And, for our saik, to deid was dicht.

For with the Deuill and dulefull deid,
 With hell and sin,⁸ I was forlorne,
 The Sone of Ire, at Goddis feid,
 Consauit sa I was and borne:
 I grew ay mair and mair thairin,
 And daylie eikit sin⁸ to sin,⁸
 Dispair was euer me beforene.

Quhair I culd nocht⁹ the Law fulfill,
 My warkis maid me na supplie:
 Sa blind and waik was my fré will,
 That

¹ our, C. D.

² prison, B.

³ Omitted, B.

⁴ blyth, kythit, C. D.

⁵ all, B. C. D.

⁶ A. C.; comforting, B. D.

⁷ reioyse, B. D.; reioys, C.

⁸ sinne, D.

⁹ not, B. C. D.

That haitit the veritie :
 My conscience kest me euer in cair,
 The Deuill he draue me to ¹ dispair,
 And hell was euer befoir myne eye.

God had greit pietie on my wo,
 And aboue mesure, schew me grace,
 Quhen I was zit his cruell fo,
 Zit he wald cure my cairfull case ;
 His lufe to me he did conuert,
 From the maist deipest of his hart,
 Quhilk coste ² him deir, to mak my peace.

To his beluiffit ³ Sone he said,
 The tyme of mercy drawis neir,
 To saif man, and the feind inuaid,
 Thairfoir, my hartlie ⁴ Sone sa deir,
 Ga freith ⁵ thame fra the Feindis feid,
 Thow man ⁶ ouerthrow sin, hell and deide,
 Syne man restoir, baith haill and feir.

The Sone ⁴ his Father did obey,
 And come ⁷ downe on the eird to me,
 Borne of ane Maid, ⁶ as wrytis Esay,
 My kynde sweit brother for to be.
 He took on him my nature vyle, ⁸
 And did his power for to exile
 Sathan and all his subteltie.

He said, thow sall haif victorie,

¹ draif, B. ; draue me *in*, C. D.

² coist, B. ; cost, C. D.

³ So also C. D. ; belouit, B. ⁴ hertlie, sonne, C. D. ⁵ So also B. ; fetch, C. D.

⁶ mon, Mayd, B. ⁷ came, C. D. ⁸ So A. B. ; but C. D. vyld nature.

Gif thow allane¹ on me depend :
 For I will giue my self for¹ thé,
 Thy² cairfull quarrell² to defend ;
 For I am thyne, and myne thow art,
 And of my gloir thow sall haif part,
 Syne ring with me withoutin end.

Thay man sched out my blissit³ blude,
 And reif⁴ alswa my lyfe fra me ;
 I thole⁵ this onlie⁵ for thy gude.
 Beleue that firme and steidfastlie ;
 For my deide sall thy deide deuoir,
 That sin sall thé condampne no moir,
 For be that way saif thow man be.⁶

Syne fra this present life⁷ I fair
 To my Father Celestiall ;
 Thy Mediator trew sall be thair,
 And send to thé my Spreit⁸ I sall,
 To gif thé consolatioun
 For all thy tribulatioun,
 The treuth he sall instruct zow all.

My doing, leirning, mair and les,
 That leir and do, vnfenzitlie ;
 For that dois Goddis kirk increas,
 And his greit gloir dois magnifie ;
 Be war of men, and thair command,
 Quhilk me and my word do gainstand.⁹

My

¹ alone, B. D.; to, D.

⁵ thoill, this only, B.

⁸ Spirit, D.

² That, querrell, D.

⁶ So also D.; mon die, B.

⁹ ganestand, B.

³ blyssit, B.

⁴ raif, D.

⁷ lyfe, B.

My last will heir I leue¹ to thé.

❏ F I N I S.

FOLLOWIS² ANE SANG OF THE BIRTH OF CHRIST,
³ WITH THE TUNE OF BAW LULA LOW.

I come from heuin to tell
 The best nowellis that euer befell,
 To zow thir tythingis trew I bring,
 And I will of them say and sing.

This day, to zow, is borne ane childe⁴
 Of Marie⁴ meik, and Virgin milde.⁴
 That blissit bairne bening and kynde,
 Sall zow reioyis,⁵ baith hart and mynde.

It is the Lord, Christ, God and Man,
 He will do for zow quhat he can :
 Him self zour⁶ Sauour⁶ will be,
 Fra sin and hell, to mak zow fré.

He is zour rycht Saluatioun,
 From euerlasting Dampnatioun :
 That ze may Ring in gloir and blis,
 For euer mair in heuin with his.

Ze sall him find, but mark or wying,⁷
 Full sempill in ane Cribie lying :
 Sa lyis he quhilk zow hes wrocht,

¹ So also D.; leif, B.

² Omitted, B.

³ B. inserts "to be sung."

⁴ Chylde, Mary, mylde, B.

⁵ reioyce, B. D.

⁶ D. has our, also "he," before "will."

⁷ So A. B.; wring, D.

And all this warld maid of nocht.

Lat vs reioyis¹ and be blyith,¹
 And with the Hyrdis go full swyith,¹
 And sé quhat God of his grace hes done,
 Throw Christ to bring vs to his throne.

My Saull and lyfe stand up and sé
 Quha lyis in ane Cribbe of tré:
 Quhat Babe is that, sa gude and fair?
 It is Christ, Goddis Sone and air.²

Welcome now, gracious God of mycht,
 To sinnaris vyle, pure and vnrycht.
 Thow come to saif² vs from distres,
 How can we thank thy gentilnes!

O God that maid all Creature,
 How art thou now³ becumit⁴ sa pure,
 That on the hay and stray will ly,
 Amang the Assis, Oxin and Ky?

And war the warld ten tymes sa wyde,
 Cled ouer with gold, and stanis of pryde,
 Unworthie it war, zit⁵ to thé,
 Under thy feit ane stule to be.

The Sylk and Sandell thé to eis,
 Ar hay, and sempill sweilling clais,
 Quharin thou gloris greitest King,

As

¹ reioyce, B. D.; blyth, swyith, D.

² Sonne and Aire, saue, D.

³ Omitted, D.

⁴ becummin, B.; becum, D.

⁵ zit it were, D.

As thow in heuin war in thy Ring.

Thow tuke sic¹ panis temporall,
To mak me ryche² perpetuall.
For all this warldis welth and gude,
Can na thing ryche³ thy celsitude.⁴

O my deir hart, zung Jesus sweit,
Prepair thy creddill in my Spreit,
And I sall rock thé in my hart,
And neuer mair fra thé depart.

Bot I sall pryse⁵ thé euer moir,
With sangis sweit vnto thy gloir :
The kneis of my hart sall I⁶ bow,
And sing that rycht Balulalow.

 Gloir be to God Eternallie,
Quhilk gaif his onlie Sone for me :
The angellis Joyis⁷ for to heir,
The gracious gift of this new Zeir.

❧ F I N I S.

TO vs is borne a barne⁷ of blis,
Our King and Empriour :⁸
Ane gracious Virgin Mother is,
To God hir Sauour.
Had not that blissit bairne⁹ bene borne,
We had bene euerie ane forlorne,
With Sin and Feindis fell.

¹ So A.; tuke like, D.; tuik, B. ² riche, B. D. ³ riche, B.; richt, D.

⁴ Celcitude, B. ⁵ praise, B. D. ⁶ So also D.; B. omits "I."

⁷ A. B.; angels, bairne, D. ⁸ A. D.; Empreour, B. ⁹ blyssit barne, B.

Christ Jesus, louing be to thé,
 That thow ane man wald¹ borne be,
 To saif vs from the hell.

For neuer was, nor salbe man,
 Nor woman in this lyfe :
 Sen Adam first our sin began,
 And Eue his weddit wyfe,
 That can be saif, throw thair gude deid.
 For poysand² all ar Adamis seid,
 And can not sin² refraine :
 Quhill God him self fand the remeid,
 And gaif his onlie Sone² to the deide,
 To freith vs from all paine.

We suld loue³ God and myrrie be,
 And dryue away dispair :
 For Christ is cumin⁴ from heuin sa hie,
 Our fall for to repair.
 (Na tung sic kyndnes can expres)⁵
 The forme of seruand takin hes
 And *Verbum Caro factum est*,
 (Except sin,² lyke vnto vs all)
 To freith vs from the Feindis thrall,
 And mend quhair we did mis.⁵

Full weill is thame for euer moir,⁶
 That trowis faithfullie,
 Be Grace to Ring with Christ in gloir,⁶
 Throw Faith allanerlie.

¹ wold, D.² poysound, B. D. ; sinne, sonne, D.³ lufe, B. D.⁴ cummit, D.⁵ kyndnesse, expresse, misse, D.⁶ For weill is them evermoir, D.

And weill is thame that vnderstude,
 The gracious gift of Christis blude,
 Sched Sinnaris¹ for to win :
 Was neuer hard² sa² kynde ane thing,
 Christ for his fais on Croce did hing,
 To purge vs from our sin.

Thus thank we him full hartfullie,
 For his greit gentilnes :
 We pray him, for his greit mercy,
 Trew Preichouris till increas.
 Fals Pharesianis,³ and fenzeit lair,
 Quhome we haif followit lait and air,
 Baith thame and vs forgeue,⁴
 God, Father, Sone and haly Spreit,
 Instruct us in thy word sa sweet,
 And efter it to leue.⁴

❧ F I N I S.

I *N dulci*⁵ *Jubilo*, Now lat vs sing with myrth and Jo
 Our hartis consolatioun lyis *in præsepio*,⁵
 And schynis as the Sone,⁶ *Matris in gremio*,
Alpha es et O, Alpha es et O.
*O Jesu pervule!*⁷ I thrist sore⁸ efter thé,
 Confort my hart and mynde, *O puer optime*,
 God of all grace sa kynde, *et princeps gloriæ*
Trahe me post te, Trahe me post te.
Ubi sunt gaudia, in ony place bot thair,
 Quhair that the Angellis sing *Nova cantica*,
 Bot and the bellis Ring *in regis curia*,
 God gif I war thair, God gif I war thair.

¹ sinners, B. D.

² wes hard neuer, D.; fa (?), B.; so D.

³ Pharesians, B.; Pharesianes, D.

⁴ So also D.; forgive, live, B.

⁵ All the editions read *dulce* and *principio*, but the German Hymn-books always give, and rightly, both words as in the text.

⁶ sunne, D.

⁷ *parvule*, B. D.

⁸ soir, B.

ONLIE to God on hicht¹ be gloir,
 And louing be vnto his grace.
 Quha can condampne vs ony moir,
 Sen we are now at Goddis peace?
 Intill his fauour we are taine,
 Throw Faith in Jesus Christ allaine,
 Be quhome his wraith sall end and seace.²

We wirschip³ and we loue and pryse,³
 Thy Maiestie and Magnitude :
 That thow, God, Father, onlie wyse,
 Ringis³ ouer all with fortitude :
 Na tung⁴ can tell, thy strenth nor mycht,⁵
 Thy wordis and thochtis, all ar rycht,⁵
 And all thy warkis Just and gude.

Lord Jesus Christ, Sone⁶ onlie borne
 Of thy Father celestially,
 Thow sauit vs that was forlorne,
 Fra Sin⁶ and hell and Sathanis thrall.
 Lord, Goddis Lamb, thow tuke on thé,
 For all our Sin⁶ to satisfie,
 Lord be mercyfull to vs [all].⁷

O haly gaist, our confort gude,
 From Feindis feide⁸ thy flock defend :
 [Quhome Christ redemit with his blude]⁹
 To thy keiping we thame commend :
 From errour and Hypocrasie,⁸
 Strenth vs in the veritie,¹⁰
 To perseueir vnto the end.

¹ heich, B. D.² ceis, B. D.³ worship, praise, Rings, D.⁴ toung, B. D.⁵ micht, richt, B. D.⁶ Sonne, sinne, D.⁷ vnto us, A. B.; to us, D.⁸ feill, Hypocrisie, B. D.⁹ ransomit on the Rude, *Laing*; has bought from wofulnesse, *Coverdale*.¹⁰ victorie, D.

¶ FOLLOWIS¹ OF THE GREIT LOUING AND
BLYITHNES² OF GODDIS² WORD.

L ORD God thy face, and word of grace,
Hes lang bene hid be craft of men,
Quhill at the last, the nycht is past,
And we full weill thair falset ken :
We knaw perfyte, the halie writ,³
Thairfoir be gloir and pryse⁴ to thé :
Quhilk did vs geue,⁴ this tyme to leue,⁴
Thy word trew preichit for to sé.

Our bairnis now, weill knawis how
To wirschip⁵ God with seruice trew,
Quhilk mony zeir, our Fatheris deir,
Allace ! thairfoir, full far⁶ misknew,
Zit God did feid his chosin indeid,
As Noy,⁷ and Lot, and mony mo,
And had respect to his elect,
How euer the blind warld did go.

Sen throw thy strenth thy word at lenth
Is preicheit cleir befor our eine,
Be zit, gude Lord, misericord
To thame quhilk zit dissauit bene,
And not dois knaw, bot mennis Law,
To thair greit dampnatioun ;
Teich thame fra hand to vnderstand

¹ Omitted, B.

⁴ praise, give, live, B. D.

⁷ So also D.; Noe, B.

² Blythnesse, Gods, D.

⁵ worship, D.

³ wryte, B.

⁶ sair, B.; sore, D.

Thy word to thair Saluatioun.

Quha wald be saif, first this man haif,¹
 To knaw thair sin, syne trow in Christ,
 Big on this ground, lat² lufe abound,
 With pacience, prayer, hope and traist.
 On God thow call, thank him of all,
 To serue thy nychtbour³ geue⁴ thy cure :
 Thy conscience fré man⁵ euer be,
 This can geue⁴ thé na creature.

Thow Lord abone, man⁵ geue allone,
 Thir giftis for thy haly name :
 Quha will thair hart⁶ to Christ conuert,
 Na man can do thame skaith nor schame.
 Thocht Paip or King wald sa maling,
 To mak the word of God forlorne,
 Thair strenth sall fail, and not preuail,
 Thocht thay the contrair all had sworne.

Lord lat² thy hand help in all land,
 That thy elect conuertit be,
 Thy word to leir, quhilk now dar sweir
 That thy word is bot Heresie.⁷
 Thay geue⁴ thy word ane fals record,
 Quhilk neuer hard the veritie :
 Nor neuer it red, bot blindlingis led,
 With Doctouris of Idolatrie.

The tyme is now, but dout I trow,
 Quhilk

¹ So also D.; mon haue, B. ² let, B. D. ³ nichtbour, B.; neighbour, D.
⁴ give, B. D. ⁵ aboue, D.; mon, B. D. ⁶ hearts, D. ⁷ herisie, B.

Quhilk Paull did Prophetie in writ,¹
 Thocht heuin and eird suld ga arreird,²
 Thy word sall stand fast and perfite.
 Thocht that maist part indure thair hart,
 Sittand³ thair strenth thy word againe,
 Repent thay nocht, thay sall be brocht
 Eternallie to hellis paine.

Our Sauour and Gouvernour
 Is Christ, quhais bludie woundis wyde
 Redemit⁴ hes, from all distres,
 Sinnaris that will on him confide :
 To him be gloir for euir moir,
 To vs quhilk hes ane promeis maid,
 Us to conuoy from paine⁵ to Joy,
 Baith in our lyfe, and in our deide

We hope and traist, the haly Gaist
 Sall nocht forzet vs at⁶ our neid,
 Sa we thy word, with ane⁶ accord,
 Hald in our hart, our Saull to feid.
 Lat us not mis,⁷ thy gloir and blis,⁷
 Quhen fra this wratcheit⁸ lyfe we wend ;
 Grant vs thy grace, to die in peace,
 And perseueir vnto the end.

¶ F I N I S.

¶ Followis⁹ NUNC DIMITTIS, the pray-
 er of Symeon. Luc.¹⁰ ij. chap.

¹ prophecie, B. D.; write, D. ² areird, B. D. ³ Setting, B.; Setand, D.
⁴ Remedit, D. ⁵ paines, D. ⁶ in, one, B. ⁷ misse, blisse, D.
⁸ wretchit, B.; wratchet, D. ⁹ Omitted, B. ¹⁰ Luk, B.; Luck, D.

Lord lat ¹ thy seruand now depart,
 In glaidnes, rest and peace :
 I am reioysit ² at my hart,
 To sé his godlie face,
 Quhome faithfullie thow promiseist me,
 Christ Jesus, King of grace.

This present dede ³ salbe full sweet,
 And in to ⁴ sleip sall changeit be :
 To rest, syne ryis, ³ bot euer my Spreit
 Sall leue, and be alwyse ³ with thé,
 Throw Faith in Christ, my onlie traist,
 Quhome presentlie I sé.

Our Sauour thow hes him maid,
 His deide sall saue ⁴ vs all
 From sin and hell, the Deuill and deide :
 His resurrection sall
 Frelie vs geue, ⁵ ever for to leue, ⁵
 In gloir perpetuall.

Of Hethin folk, blindit so soir,
 He is the verray lycht, ⁶
 Quhilk neuer hard of him befoir,
 Nor saw him with thair sycht : ⁶
 He is the gloir, pryse ⁷ and decoir,
 And strenth of Israell rycht. ⁶

¶ F I N I S.

FOLLOWIS ⁸ ANE SANG OF THE RESURRECTION.

Christ

¹ So also D.; let, B. ² So also D.; reioycit, B. ³ deid, ryse, alwayis, B. D.

⁴ unto, saif, D.

⁵ liue, giue, B. D.

⁶ licht, sicht, richt, B.

⁷ praise, B. D.

⁸ Omitted, B.

CHRIST [Jesus]¹ gaif² him self to deide,³
 And, for our fault, the⁴ mendis maid :
 For vs he sched his precious blude,
 With greit triumph vpon the rude,
 And Sin and Sathan thair hes slaine,
 And sauit vs from hellis paine.

For he againe fra deide vp rais,
 Victour of deide, and all our fais.
 He raif⁵ the Obligatioun,
 Contrair to our Saluatioun,
 Syne spolzeit⁶ Sathan, hell and sin,
 And heuinlie gloir to vs hes win.

And we ar now at Goddis peace,
 Throw Christ ressaut to his grace ;
 Our Father mercyfull he is,⁵
 And we sall Ring with him in blis.
 Allalua allalua. *Benedicamus Domino.*

❏ F I N I S.

❏ FOLLOWIS⁷ CERTAINE BALLATIS OF THE SCRIPTURE.

TILL Christ, quhome I am haldin for to lufe,
 I gif my thirlit hart in gouernance.
 How suld I lufe, and fra his treuth⁸ remufe,
 Full wo war⁸ me, that drierie disseuerance.⁹

¹ See note, p. 253.

² gaue, B. C. D.

³ So B. ; die, C. D.

⁴ So also C. D. ; he, B.

⁵ So also B. C. ; raise ; is he, D.

⁶ A. ; spoylzeit, B. ; spulzeit, C. D.

⁷ Omitted, B.

⁸ A. C. ; wer, B. ; trueth, were, D.

⁹ So A. B. ; difference, C. D.

Is na remeid, saif onlie esperance :
 For weill, for wo, for boist, or zit for schoir,
 Quhair I am set, I sall lufe euer moir.

And sen I moste¹ depart, on neid I sall
 Be till him trew, with hart, and that I hecht,
 And sen that I becummin am his thrall,
 With body him serue, with mind & all my² micht :
 He is the rute of my remembrance rycht,
 The verray crop, quhome of I confort³ tak ;
 Quhy suld I not do seruice for his saik ?

Quhome suld I serue bot him, that did me saue ?
 Quhome suld I dout bot him, that dantis deide ?³
 Quhome suld I lufe bot him, attour the laif ?⁴
 Of all my wo he is the haill remeid ;
 How suld I flé, and can not find na feid ?
 Quhome suld I lufe but him, that hes my hart ?
 How suld we twin⁵ that na man can depart ?

This vmbeset⁶ I am on eurie syde,
 And quhat to do I can not weill deuise :
 My flesche biddis flé,⁵ my spreit biddis me byde ;
 Quhen cair cumis, than confort³ on me cryis,
 Hope says get vp, than langour on me lyis.
 My panis biddis my wofull hart repent,
 Bot neuer mair thairto will I consent.

Depart him fra, my hart will neuer consent,
 It biddis me byde, and I sall neuer flé :

¹ A. ; must, B. ; moist, D.

³ comfort, B. D. ; deid, B. C.

⁵ So also B. C. ; flie, twine, D.

² Omitted, C. D.

⁴ laue, C. D.

⁶ Thus, B. ; This, unbeset, D.

For be I takin, slaine, or zit schent,
 For sic ane King it is na schame to die.
 Gif thair be grace in to this eird for me
 It is committit, from the heuen abuse,
 Till Christ, quhome I am haldin for to lufe.

¶ F I N I S.

R YCHT sorelie¹ musing in my mynde,
 For pietie¹ sore¹ my hart is² pynde,
 Quhen I remember on Christ sa kynde,
 That sauit me :
 Nane culd me saif, from thyne³ till ynde,
 Bot onlie he.

He is the way, trothe, lyfe, and lycht,⁴
 The varray⁵ port, till heaven full rycht.
 Quha enteris nocht be his greit mycht,
 Ane theif is he :⁵
 That wald presume, be his awin mycht
 Saut to be.⁶

I grant that I haif faultit sore,⁷
 To stok and stane geuand his glore,⁷
 And heipand warkis into store,⁷
 For my remeid :
 War nocht his mercy is the more,⁷
 I had bene deid.

Thow lytill bill, thy wayis thow wend,
 And schaw my mynde, fra end to end,
 Till thame that will repent and mend,
 Thow schaw thame till

¹ Richt soirlie, pitie, soir, B.

² herts, B.

³ A. B.; Thyle, D.; Ynde, B.

⁴ licht, richt, nicht, B. D.

⁵ A.; verray, B.; verie, hee is, D.

⁶ D. wants these two lines.

⁷ haue faultis soir, gloir, stoir, moir, B.

Beleue in Christ, quhom God hes¹ send,
And wirk his will.

¶ F I N I S.

RYCHT sore² opprest I am with panis smart,
Baith nicht and day makand my woful mone
To God, for my misdeid, quhilk hes my hart
Put in sa greit distres with wo begone,
Bot gif he send me sum remeid anone,
I list not lang my lyfe for till indure,
Bot to the deide bowne, cairfull creature.

I can not do my detfull obseruance
Till him, that heuin & all the warld suld dreid;
Auld Adame is the cause of this mischance,
And turnis oft my Faith in wickit deid:
War not the deith² of Christ war my remeid,
I list not on my lyfe for till tak cure,
Bot to the deide bowne, cairfull creature.

O God of gloir, quhais mycht is infinite,
Grant me thy grace, quhom sin haldis³ in thrall,
To fecht aganis my flesche, quhilk hes the wite⁴
Of all my wo, and my appeirand fall:
Thow gaif⁵ command, in neid on thé to call,
And for thy Sonnis saik I suld be sure,
That thow suld saif⁵ all sinfull creature.

Remember, Lord, my greit fragillitie,⁶
Remember

¹ A. B.; will, D.

² Richt soir, deid, B.

³ whom sinne halds, D.

⁴ wyte, B. D.

⁵ So also D.; gaue, saue, B.

⁶ fragility, D.

Remember, Lord, thy Sonnis¹ Passioun,
 For I am borne with all Iniquitie,
 And can not help my awin¹ Saluatioun;
 Thairfoir is my Justificatioun
 Be¹ Christ, quhilk cled him with my nature,
 To saif from schame all sinfull creature.

O Lord, sen thou thy word to me hes send,
 Thou lat² it neuer returne to thé in vaine.
 Bot lat² me perseueir vnto the end:
 To my auld sin lat me not turne againe;
 For than bene far better in to³ plaine,
 Not till haif⁴ hard thy precept in scripture,
 Than² knawand it, die cairfull creature.

❧ F I N I S.

ALLACE that same sweit face
 That deit vpon ane tré,
 To purches⁵ mankynde peace,
 From Sin to mak vs fré,
 Allone to be our remedie.

To graith our place full meit,
 He is ascendit hie,
 And left with vs⁵ his Spreit,
 To wirschip⁶ spirituallie,
 Onlie to be our remedie.

He bad, quhen he was gone,
 Apply vs haillelie,

¹ A. B.; Sonnes, awne, by, D.

² let, then, B. D.

³ into, B. D.

⁴ haue, B. D.

⁵ So also B.; purchas vs with, D.

⁶ worship, B. D.

To serue our God allone,¹
 In spreit and veritie,
 Allone¹ to be our remedie.

Na¹ kynde of outward deid,
 How haly that euer it be,
 May saue² us at our neid,
 Nor zit vs Iustifie,
 Nor zit can mak vs³ remedie.

Bot Christ we neid na thing,
 Quhair throw sauit we suld be ;
 He is ane potent King,
 And will allanerlie,
 Onlie be our remedie.

His Testament maist perfyte,
 Plainly dois testifie,
 Quhilk his Apostillis did wryte,
 That nane may saif bot he,
 Nor zit can mak vs³ remedie.

Bot now sen he is gone,
 To Ring eternallie,
 We wirschip⁴ stock and stone,
 Can nouthir heir, or sé,
 Nor zit can mak vs remedie.

We haif⁵ dwelt all to lang
 In fals Hypocrisie,
 Trew Faith, Lord, mak vs fang,
 Wirkand be cheritie,
 Onlie to be our remedie.

❧ F I N I S.

¹ So also D.; alone, no, B.

⁴ worship, B. D.

² saif, B. D.

⁵ haue, B. D.

³ Omitted, D.

I call on thé, Lord Jesu ¹ Christ,
 I haif nane vther help bot thé,
 My hart is neuer set at ² rest,
 Till thy sweit word confort[is] ¹ me.
 Ane steidfast Faith grant me thairfoir,
 To hald be thy word euer moir
 Abuse all thing, neuer ³ resisting,
 Bot to increas in Faith moir and moir.

Zit anis againe, I call on ² thé,
 Heir my requeist, O mercyfull Lord,
 I wald faine hope on ⁴ thy mercie,
 And can nocht be thair to restoird,
 Except thow illuminate with thy grace
 My blind and naturall waiknes.⁵
 Cause me thairfoir haif hope in stoir,
 In thy mercy and sweit promeis.

Lord prent in to my hart and mynde
 Thy haly Spreit,⁵ with feruentnes;
 That I to thé be nocht vnkynde,
 Bot lufe ⁵ thé without fenzeitnes.
 Lat na thing draw my mynde from thé,
 Bot euer to lufe ⁵ thé earnestlie,
 Lat nocht ⁴ my hart vnkyndlie depart,
 From the rycht lufe ⁵ of thy mercie.

Gif ⁶ me thy grace, Lord, I thé pray,
 To lufe ⁵ my Ennemeis ⁶ hartfullie:
 Howbeit thay trubill me alway,

¹ Jesus, comfort, B. D.² all at, to, D.³ euer, D.⁴ in, Let not, B. D.⁵ waiknesis, Spirit, loue, D.⁶ Giue, B. D. ; enemeis, B. ; enemies, D.

And for thy cause do sclander me.
 Zit Jesus Christ, for thy gudnes,¹
 Fulfill my hart with forgifnes,
 That quhill I leif,² I thame forgeif,²
 That do offend me mair² and les.

I am compassit round about,
 With sore³ and strang temptatioun :
 Thairfoir, gude Lord, deliuer me out
 From all this wickit natioun.
 The Deuill, the warld, the flesche also,
 Dois follow me, quhair euer I go,
 Thairfoir wald I deliuerit be,
 Thy help I seik, Lord, and no mo.

Now seis thow Lord quhat neid I haif,⁴
 Thair is none vther to plenze⁴ to :
 Thairfoir thy haly Gaist I craif,
 To be my gyde quhair euer I go,
 That in all my aduersitie
 I forzet not the lufe of thé :
 Bot as thow, Lord, hes geuin thy word,
 Lat me thairin baith leue⁵ and die.

❧ F I N I S.

Of mercy zit he passis all,
 In quhome I traist and euer sall,
 For to nane vther⁶ will I call,
 To die

¹ So A. B.; goodnesse, forgiuenesse, lesse, D.

² So D. also; liue, forgiue, B.; moir, D.

⁴ haue, pleinzie, D.

⁵ So also D.; liue, B.

³ So D. also; soir, B.

⁶ A. B.; none other, D.

To die thairfoir, to die thairfoir.²

For thair is nane vther² Saluatioun,
Bot be that Lord that sufferit Passion,
Upon our saulis he hes Compassioun,
And deit thairfoir, and deit thairfoir.

That Lord sa fer³ had vs in mynde,
He come⁴ from heuin, and tuke mankynde,
He haillit the seik, sair, lamit, and blinde,
And deit thairfoir, and deit thairfoir.

To pray to Peter, James, or⁴ Johne,
Our saulis to saif, power haif⁵ thay none,
For that belangis to Christ allone,
He deit thairfoir, he deit thairfoir.

I traist to God of suretie,
Be Christis blude sauit to be,
In quhilk I hope sa faithfullie,
To die thairfoir, to die thairfoir.

Thair is na dedis,⁶ that can saue me,
Thocht thay be neuer sa greit plentie,
Bot throw Christ and his greit mercy,
Quhilk deit thairfoir, quhilk deit thairfoir.

Gif dedis mycht saif⁷ our saulis from paine,
Than⁸ Christis blude was sched in vaine,
As ze may reid in Scripture plaine,

¹ mercies, B. ; mercie, D.

² So also B. ; therefore, none other, D.

³ far, B. D.

⁴ So also B. ; came, and D.

⁵ haue, B. D.

⁶ deidis, B. D.

⁷ nicht saue, B. ; might saue, D.

⁸ Then, B. D.

To die thairfoir, to die thairfoir.

Zit sum hes hope sauit to be,
For doing deidis of Cheritie,
Faith can not saif,² quhair na deidis be ;
Thay lie thairfoir, thay lie thairfoir.

The theif was saift be Faith trewlie,
And nocht³ for deidis of Cheritie,
As wrytis Luc,⁴ twentie and thré,
To die thairfoir, to die thairfoir.

Fyre without heit can not be,
Faith will haif⁵ warkis of suretie,
Als fast as may conuenientlie
Be done, but moir.

Now Lord that deit vpon ane tré,
And sched thy blude sa plenteouslie,
Ressaif⁶ our saulis to thy glorie,⁷
We ask no moir, we ask no moir.

¶ F I N I S.

WE suld into remembrance
Of Jesus Christ our King,
Without ony dissemillance⁸
Be blyith,⁹ and myrrie sing.
We

¹ mercies, B. ; mercie, D.

² So also D. ; saue, B.

³ not, B. D.

⁴ Luk, B. ; Luke, D.

⁵ haue, B. D.

⁶ Ressaue, B. ; Ressaife, D.

⁷ gloir, B. ; glore, D.

⁸ dissimulance, B. D.

⁹ blyth, D.

We war condampnit¹ to the deide
 In hell, for Adamis mis :
 Bot Jesus Christ the peace² hes maid,
 Betuix [our] God and vs.

Christ is our God and Sauour,
 Our help, and our refuge,
 Our brother and our Mediator,
 Our Aduocat and Juge.³

Sen on our syde is God him sell,
 Quha dar againe him pleid ?
 For he hes vincust Sin and hell,
 The Deuill and also deide.

This greit gudnes that Christ hes done,
 God lat⁴ us neuer forzet :⁴
 Bot thank and loue that Lord abone,
 With sangis sweetlie set.

¶ F I N I S.

HAY Zule [Zule] now sing and mak myrth,⁵
 Sen Christ this day to vs is borne :
 For had not bene that blissit byrth,
 Mankynde alwyse⁶ had bene forlorne.

All men war born in sinfulness,
 Condampnit⁷ to Eternall deide,

¹ So also B. ; were condemned, D. ² So also D. ; peice, B. ³ Judge, B. D.

⁴ let, B. ; forzet it, D. ⁵ " Hay let vs sing and mak greit mirth," B. D.

⁶ alwayis, B. ; alwayes, D.

⁷ So also B. ; condemned, D.

Except Christ, that in rychteousnes¹
Was onlie borne for our remeid.

And he, geue² we beleue, hes coste²
His innocens for our trespas.³
Had nocht bene Christ we had bene loste,²
O blissit birth that euer was !

¶ F I N I S.

IN Burgh & land, eist, west, north, south,
We gloir⁴ for to speik of Christ :
And his Euangell in our mouth,
Bot far fra⁵ him our hartis we wreist.

To Goddis Law quha will aduert,
Sall steidfast in his promiseis traist,
And lufe our brethren with our hart,
And flé from sin, and vice detest.⁶

Lufe his⁷ fulfilling of the Law,
As Paull reheirsis⁸ in his writ :⁹
Of Christ forsuith na thing¹⁰ we know,
That hes na faith, and lufe perfyte.

The Scripture plainlie dois accord,
Quha will not wirk his Fatheris will,
Bot sayis euerie day, Lord, Lord,
Sall neuer cum in heuin him till.

Brether

¹ So A. ; richteousnes, B. ; righteousness, D.
giue, cost, lost, D.

² gif, coist, loist, B. ;

³ So also B. ; trespasse, D. ⁴ glorie, B. ; gloire, D. ⁵ So also B. ; from, D.

⁶ detaist, D.

⁷ is, B. D.

⁸ So also B. ; reheirset, D.

⁹ wryt, B. ; write, D.

¹⁰ So also D. ; na thing forsuith, B.

Brether and sisteris, that will resort
 Till ¹ Christ, and with his Gospell mell,
 Do, as ze say, I zow exhort,
 And now na mair dissaue zour sell.

Or God sall tak his word againe
 Fra vs, syne will it send
 To thame, that will not wirk in vaine,
 Bot perseueir vnto the end.

¶ F I N I S.

¶ FOLLOWIS ² ANE CARRELL ³ CONTRAIR
 IDOLATRIE.

WE suld beleue in God abufe,⁴
 And in nane vther thing;
 Quha traists ⁵ in him, he wil thame lufe,⁴
 And grant thame thair asking.

Contrair it is to Goddis command,
 To trow that help may cum
 Of Idolis,⁶ maid be ⁷ mennis hand,
 Quhilk ar baith deif and dum.

Quha dois adhorne ⁸ Idolatrie,
 Is contrair the haly writ:
 For stock and stane is Mammontrie,⁹

¹ So also B. ; To, D. ² So also D. ; omitted in B. ³ Sang, B. D.

⁴ So also B. ; aboue, loue, D. ⁵ So also D. ; traistis, B. ⁶ Idoles, B. D.

⁷ with, B. ; by, D. ⁸ adorne, B. D. ⁹ So also B. ; Mammonrie, D.

Quhilk men may carfe¹ or quhite.

The Apostillis, that write² the veritie,
Expreslie do conclude,
That Idolis³ suld detestit be,
Ar⁴ contrair to Christis blude.

Ze sempill peple, vnperfyte,⁵
Greit Ignorance may ze tell,
Of stock and staine hes mair delyte,⁵
Than⁵ in to⁶ God him sell.

¶ F I N I S.

¶ ANE CARRELL OF THE EPISTILL ON ZULE EUIN.⁷

THE Grace of God appeiris now
Our heill⁸ and our saluatioun :
To teiche and Instruct vs how,
In all Cuntrie⁹ and Natioun,

That we suld leif¹⁰ our wickitnes,
And flé vaine warldlie¹¹ appetyte,
Just, haly be, with sobernes,
Leif in the warld a lyfe perfyte.

That blissit hope for to abyde,

¹ carue, B. D. ; *may*, not in D. ² wrait, B. D. ³ Idoles, B. D. ⁴ As, B.

⁵ So also D. ; unperfite, delite, Then, B. ⁶ So also B. ; unto, D.

⁷ Ane Ballat of the Epistill on Christinmes Euin, B. ; Epistle, Christinmas Euen, D. ⁸ So also D. ; helth, B. ⁹ So A. B. ; countreies, D.

¹⁰ leue, B. D.

¹¹ So A. D. ; wardly, B.

The cumming of greit God of gloir,
 And Jesu¹ Christis² woundis wyde,
 The Sauour of les³ and moir,

Quhilk, for our saik,⁴ he gaue him sell,
 To saif⁵ from Sin,⁵ and purge vs cleir,
 Ane chosin peple⁶ in speciall,
 In gude warkis to perseueir.

To studie in thame nycht and day,
 This⁷ we suld ane exhort ane vther,
 Of Goddis word to sing and say,
 And euerie man to lufe his brother.

¶ F I N I S.

OF thingis twa, I pray thé, Lord,
 Deny me nocht⁸ befor I die :
 All vanitie and lieand⁹ word,
 Full far away thow put fra me.

Extreime puirteith,¹⁰ nor greit ryches,
 Thow gif me not in na kin¹¹ wyse :
 Bot onlie, of thy greit gudnes,
 Giue me that may my neid suffice.

For be I ryche, I may perchance,
 Say, quha is God? and him misknaw,
 And na¹¹ thing bot myself aduance,

¹ Jesus, B. D.

² So also B. ; Christes, D.

³ lesse, D.

⁴ sake, D.

⁵ saue, sinne, D.

⁶ pepill, B. ; people, D.

⁷ Thus, B.

⁸ not, B. D.

⁹ So also D. ; leand, B.

¹⁰ So also D. ; Extreme pureteth, B.

¹¹ no kyn, no, D.

And him forzet and all his Law.

Or be I pure, and haue na geir,
Than man I outhir reif or steill,
Or than my Goddis name manesweir,¹
And set him at full lytill vail.

❧ F I N I S.

LORD, Father God, that gaif² me lyfe,
Thow leif me not to do my will ;
Bot grant thy grace to me Catiue,
Thy godlie Law for to fulfill.

The prydefull loking of my³ eine,
Lat nocht be rutit in my hart :
All euill desyre that in me bene,⁴
Full far from me thow wald auart.⁵

Ane gredie stomokis⁶ appetyte,
And all surfet thow tak from me ;
And als I pray thé mak me quyte,
Of fleschelic lust, and lychorie.⁷

Remufe fra me all frawardness,⁸
Als weill in mynde, as in to deide,⁹
And tak fra⁹ me vnschamefastnes,
And God and man to lufe and dreid.

❧ F I N I S.

¹ So also B. ; mensweir, D.

² gaue, D.

³ myne, B. D.

⁴ beine, D.

⁵ advart, B. ; divert, D.

⁶ So also B. ; greidie stommokes, D.

⁷ licherie, B. ; lecherie, D.

⁸ thrawardnes, B. ; thrawardnesse, D.

⁹ So A, as outward deid, B. ; from, B. D.

Blis, blissit God, thir giffitis gude,²
 Quhilk³ thow hes geuin to be our fude ;²
 Us blis, and mak thankfull in deid,
 Be Jesus Christ, that blissit seid :
 In quhome³ all blissing we ressaif,²
 Be quhom all blessing we ask and craif.²
 Grant blissing, Lord of mychtis maist,²
 God, Father, Sone, and haly Gaist.²

¶ F I N I S.

BLISSING, gloir, wisdome & hartlie⁴ thankfulnes,
 And godlie⁴ honouris, all micht & fortitude
 We offer thé, Lord, with lawlie⁴ humilnes,
 Committing our selfis haill to thy celsitude :
 Asking, for Christ, quhilk for vs gaif⁵ his blude,
 Grace, for to be in hart⁶ and mynde thankfull,
 For all thy gude and fré giftis plentifull.

¶ F I N I S.

NOW lat vs sing with joy and myrth,
 In honour of our Lordis⁷ byrth,
 For his lufe and humanitie,
 Quha gaif⁸ him self⁹ for vs to die.

¹ This title omitted in B. ; Grace before Dinner, D.

² So also B. ; but D. has good, food, receiue, craue, most, holy Ghost.

³ Whilke, Whome, D.

⁴ hartly, godly, lawly, B. ; hertly, godly, lauly, D.

⁵ gaue, B. D.

⁶ So also B. ; hert, D.

⁷ the Lord's, D.

⁸ gaue, B. D.

⁹ sell, D.

Be Adame we war all forlorne,
 Bot now Christ Jesus till vs is ¹ borne,
 Hes fréd vs fra Captiuitie,
 And vincust hes our Ennemie.

Quhen ² he was borne nane did him snib,
 To ly rycht law in till ane Crib : ²
 Ane Ox, ane Asse, rycht tenderlie
 Refrescheit ³ his humanitie.

His Godheid mysteris ⁴ na support,
 For it was full of all confort, ⁵
 Quhilk ² equal is in all degré,
 Unto his Fatheris Maiestie.

The Angellis sang with merynes, ⁶
 Unto the Hyrdis mair and les,
 And bade thame of gude confort ⁵ be,
 For Christis new Natiuitie.

For ze ⁷ war all at Goddis horne ;
 This Babe, to zow that now is borne,
 Sall mak zow saif, and for zow die,
 And zow restoir to libertie.

This Babe for zow did sched his blude,
 And tholit dede, ⁸ vpon the Rude :
 And for his greit humanitie,
 Exaltit is his Maiestie.

And

¹ Omitted, D.

² When, crabe, Whilke, D.

³ Refreschit, B. ; Refreshit, D.

⁴ misters, D.

⁵ comfort, B. D.

⁶ mirrynes, B. ; mirrenesse, D.

⁷ we, B. ; yee, D.

⁸ deid, B. ; tholed dead, D.

And now he is our Aduocate,
 Prayand for vs baith air and lait :¹
 This can the Scripture verifie,
 In sa far as ane man is he.

Thairfoir all tyde, tyme² and houre,
 Pas² vnto him as Mediatour
 Betuix the Fatheris wraith and thé,³
 Of Sin gif thou wald clengeit⁴ be.

For he hes promiseist with his hart,⁵
 To all Sinnaris that will reuart,⁵
 And fra thair sinfull lyfe will flé,
 Sall Ring with him Eternallie.

To God the Father mot be gloir,⁶
 And als to Christ for euer moir,⁶
 The haly Gaist⁷ mot blissit be,
 Wirkar⁷ of this Natiuitie.

¶ F I N I S.

QUHA can discriue or put in write,
 The Grace and mercy of our Lord !
 Quhais godlie giftis⁸ infinite,
 Men suld remember and record,
 Conforme vnto his haly word.

Our Father God, Fontaine⁹ of Grace,

¹ So also B. ; aire and late, D.

² all tyme, tyde, Passe, D.

³ So A. B. ; Betwixt *his* Fathers wrath and *us*, D.

⁴ So A. B. ; clangit, D. ⁵ hert, reuert, D. ⁶ So A. B. ; glore, more, D.

⁷ Ghaist, Worker, D.

⁸ giftes, D.

⁹ Fontaine, D.

His Sone¹ did send to ransoun vs
 From Sin, and all our cairfull case,
 And from the Deuill maist dangerus,²
 And slew that Serpent vennemous.

Christ come³ rycht sweit, as ane seruand,
 Of seruitude to mak vs fré :
 And broken hes the Deuillis band,
 Quhilk led vs in Captiuitie,
 Quhairfoir we thank his greit⁴ mercie.

Christ beand ryche⁵ in heuinlie gloir,⁵
 (And we rycht pure and in distres)
 Did mak vs riche for euer moir :⁵
 Quhairfoir we thank⁶ his gentilnes,
 Be ressoun of his greit gudnes.

Christ come³ full humill⁷ and full law,
 Us to exalt in Maiestie,
 And tholit panis, as ze knaw,
 Of hunger,⁸ cald⁹ and miserie.
 And we gat lyfe quhen he did die.

Christ als discendit to the hell,
 And vs redemit from that paine :
 And from the deith¹⁰ did rais him sell,
 Na mair¹¹ to thole¹² the deid againe,
 As we may reid in Scripture plaine.

Christ maid us Iust quhen he vprais,¹³
 Be

¹ So A. B. ; Sonne, D. ² This line omitted in D. ³ So A. B. ; came, D.

⁴ grit, B. ; great, D. ⁵ So A. B. ; being rich, gloire, more, D.

⁶ Whee tanke, D. ⁷ humbill, B. D. ⁸ hounger, B.

⁹ cauld, B. D. ¹⁰ death, D. ¹¹ So A. B. ; No more, D.

¹² So also D. ; thoill, B. ¹³ So A. B. ; rose, D.

Be ressoun of his victorie :
 Quhairthrow¹ he vincust all our fais¹
 Sin, deide,² and Deuill our Ennemie,
 And from thair bandis maid vs fré.

Christ passit to the heuinnis hie,³
 To graith ane place for vs in gloir,
 Our Aduocate thair, for⁴ to be ;
 Heirfoir his grace lat vs Imploir,⁴
 That we with him Ring euer moir.

❧ F I N I S.

GIF ze haif rissin from deide agane,⁵
 With Christ our cheif and Souerane,⁶
 Quhilk did the inwart man renew,
 Gloir nocht in eirdlie⁷ thingis vane,
 Bot in the Croce of Christ Jesu.⁸

Seik thingis abufe that are not seine,⁹
 Nor neuer sall with carnall eine,⁹
 Do diligence for till subdew¹⁰
 The flesche, the outward man I meine,
 And gloir in the Croce of Christ Jesu.

Honour it with feruent desyre,
 And I¹¹ shall swa zour Spreit Inspyre,
 Ay quhen temptatioun dois zow persew,
 Of Lychorie¹² sall slokkin¹² the fyre,

¹ Wherethrow, foes, D. ² Sinne, death, D. ³ So A. B. ; heavens so hie, D.

⁴ Thairfoir, B. ; therefore, implore, D. ⁵ So A. B. ; from the dead, D.

⁶ So also B. ; but D. our and cheife Souerane. ⁷ eirdly, B. ; earthly, D.

⁸ So also D. ; B. has here and throughout Jesew ; glore, D. ⁹ seene, eene, D.

¹⁰ So A. B. ; eschew, D. ¹¹ Query if I for It ? ¹² lycherie, slocken, D.

And gloir¹ in the Croce of Christ Jesu.

Quhen auarice, pryde, or ony sin,²
In to your memberis dois begin,
Than pray with feruent hart and trew,
That ze may be of Isackis kin,³
And gloir in the Croce of Christ Jesu.

And delfe⁴ with deip in to zour land,
As Isack did, quhill that he fand
The watter of lyfe, of heuinlie⁵ hew,
Quhilk is now fillit with eird and sand,
And gloir⁶ in the Croce of Christ Jesu.

Honour the image of the Croce,
Nocht⁷ cryand out with curyous voce,⁸
Bot in the Spreit, as it is dew,
His gudnes that restorit the lose,
And gloir in the Croce of Christ Jesu.

His Image is his word compleit,
Performit be the⁹ haly Spreit,
Quhilk from the Father sprang and grew ;
Thair is na¹⁰ Image half sa sweit,
As¹¹ gloir in the Croce of Christ Jesu.

Gif ze lufe Christ, hait not his word,
His living Image, it¹² is na bourd,
Quha lychtleis it, sall not eschew
Of¹³ vengeance the abominabill sword,
And

¹ glore D. ; and so throughout. ² any sinne, D. ³ Isaacks kyn, D.

⁴ delf, B. D. ⁵ heuinly, B. ; heavenly, D. ⁶ glorit, D.

⁷ Not, B. ; Nought, D. ⁸ voyce, B. D. ⁹ his, D. ¹⁰ nane, D.

¹¹ And, D. ¹² it omitted, D. ¹³ His, D.

And gloir in the Croce of Christ Jesu.

Siclyke of Juda the Lyoun strang,
Upon the Croce, he grat and hang ;
Quhen he was raisit, he ouerthrew
The Serpent, and his vennemous stang,
And gloird ¹ in the Croce of Christ Jesu.

The decreit, and scharp ² hand wryte,³
That stoppit vs fra the Father quyte,
Furth of the myndis ⁴ he withdrew,
And fixt it to the Croce perfyte,³
And gloird ¹ in the Croce of Christ Jesu.

Syne the Jowis ⁵ that war Legall,
And Gentillis,⁵ that, from Adamis ⁶ fall,
Sa mony zeiris thair God misknew,
Maid baith ane body mysticall ;
And gloiris in the Croce of Christ Jesu.

Lat ⁷ us thairfoir with Paull now sing,
Away fra vs all vissabill ⁸ thing,
Sing to the Lord ane sang of new,
Of laud, praise, and conforting,⁹
And gloir in the Croce of Christ Jesu.¹⁰

With Spiritual lufe lat ⁷ us proceid,
Nocht lyke the Jowis ⁵ with feir and dreid ;
Sing to the Lord ane sang rycht trew,
That was borne of King Daudis ¹¹ seid,

¹ A. B.; glore, D. ² schairp, B.; sharpe, D.

³ write, perfite, B. D.

⁴ So A.; myndes, B. C. Query if for myddis?

⁵ Jewes, Gentiles, B. D.

⁶ Adames, B.; Adams, D.

⁷ Let, B. D.

⁸ visibill, B. D.

⁹ comforting, B. D.; prais, B. ¹⁰ A.; Jeseu, D.

¹¹ So A.; Daudis, B. D.

And gloir in the Croce of Christ Jesu.¹

¶ F I N I S.

QUHA suld my mellodie² amend,
Or solace swyftlie² to me send,
Quha suld me succour or supplie,
Quha suld me from the deide defend,
Bot God, my lufe,³ in heuin sa hie.

Imploir his grace quhair⁴ we offend,
And do our former lyfe amend,
Giue honour onlie⁵ to that King,
In quhome our hope allone depend,
And lufe³ him also ouer all thing.

Nixt lufe³ zour nichtbour, as zour sell,
Euill thochtis from zour mynde expell,
Quhair⁴ Spreit is waik ask conforting⁶
At him, quhilk creat heuin and hell;
Lufe God in heuin attour all thing.

Do good for euill, and leaf⁷ zour will,
Not gude for gude, nor euill for euill,
Than ze present ane peirles sing,⁸
Of lyfe serene, the world vntill;
Lufe God in heuin attour all thing.

Thocht thou perswaid this threid slyding,

¹ Jeseu, D.

² melodie, swiftly, B. D.

³ So also B. ; loue, D.

⁴ So also B. ; where, D.

⁵ only, B. D.

⁶ comforting, B. D.

⁷ leif, B. ; leue your life, D.

⁸ i.e., sign.

Quhilk ay incressis¹ moir and moir,
 Think weill on heuinlie gouerning,
 This warld is nocht but Transitoir,
 And lufe thy God attour all thing.

Quha seruis the warld, gais a mis,²
 And sall be far from heuinnis³ blis,
 (For quhy) in Scripture is founding,
 Na wicht can serue twa Lordis I wis;
 Lufe God in heuin attour all thing.

¶ F I N I S.

¶ *The Conceptioun of Christ.*

L AT vs reioyis⁴ and sing,
 And pryse⁵ that mychtie King,
 Quhilk send his Sone of a Virgin⁶ bricht.
 La Lay La.

¶ And on him tuke our vylde⁷ nature,
 Our deidlie woundis to cure,
 Mankynd to hald in richt.
 La Lay La.

¶ Sanct Luc⁸ wrytis in his Gospell,
 God send his Angell Gabriell,
 Unto that Virgin⁶ but defame,
 La Lay La.

For to fulfill the Prophetie,

¹ So also B. ; Whilk still encressis, D.

² amis, B. D.

³ So also B. ; heuins, D.

⁴ reioce, B. ; reioyce, D.

⁵ praise, B. D.

⁶ So also D. ; Virgine, B.

⁷ vyle, B. D.

⁸ Luk, B. ; Luke, D.

Was spousit with Josaph fré ;
Marie¹ scho had to name.

La Lay La.

Thir wordis to hir he did reheirs,
Haill Marie¹ full of grace,
The Lord God is with thé.

La Lay La.

Thow blissit Virgin² mylde,³
Thow sall consaue ane Chylde,³
The peple redeme sall he.

La Lay La.

Quhais⁴ power and greit mycht⁵
Sall be in Goddis sycht,⁵
Quhilk⁴ from the Father of mycht is send.

La Lay La.

Jesus his name ze call,
Quhilk salbe Prince ouer⁶ all,
His Kingdome sall haif nane end.

La Lay La.

Than⁷ spak that Virgin fré,⁷
Behald how sall this be,⁷
Seeing I know na man ?

La Lay La.

Than⁷ said the Angell chaist,
Be the power of the haly Gaist,
Quhilk all thing wirk he can.

La Lay La.

Elizabeth, thy cousing⁸ also,
Sax monethis⁹ with childe can go,
At quhais byrth, greit Joy sall be.

La

¹ So A.; Mary, B. ² A. D.; blyssit Virgine, B. ³ A. B.; myld, chyld, D.

⁴ A. B.; Whais, Whilk, D.; and so throughout.

⁵ A.; nicht, sicht, B.; might, sight, D.

⁶ A.; ouir, B. D.

⁷ A. B.; Then, free, bee, D. ⁸ A. B.; cousin, D. ⁹ A.; Sex, B.; moneths, D.

La Lay La.

Call him Johne, sayis the Angell bricht,¹
 Quhilk is send be Goddis micht,¹
 The Lordis² way prepare sall he.
 La Lay La.

¶ F I N I S.



 Heir endis³ the Spirituall Sangis,³
 and beginnis⁴ the Psalmes of Daid,
 with vther⁵ new plesand Ballatis,⁵
 as efter followis.⁶ Translatit⁷
 out of Enchiridion Psal-
 morum to be sung.



¶ *Quare fremuerunt gentes.* Psal ij.

QUHAT is the cause, O⁸ God omnipotent,
 That all natiounis⁹ commuifit¹⁰ ar sa soir?¹¹
 The Kingis,¹² and the peple,¹³ with ane consent,

¹ So A. B.; bright, might, D.

² A. B.; Lords, D.

³ A. B.; endes, sangs, D.

⁴ A. B.; begins, D.

⁵ A. B.; others new pleasant Ballates, D. ⁶ *as efter followis* omitted in B. D.

⁷ So A. B.; translated, D. ⁸ A. B.; omitted, D. ⁹ A. B.; natiouns, D.

¹⁰ A. D.; commouit, B.

¹¹ A. B.; are so sore, D.

¹² A. B.; Kings, D.

¹³ A.; pepill, B.; people, D.

Resistis thé, thy power and thy gloir.
 Thay¹ stryue againe² thy Law ay moir and moir,
 And contrair Christ thy Sone, quhom thow hes send
 To saif all man³ that will on him depend.

Thay will not be reformat from thair sin,
 Bot will remain blindit in Ignorance :
 And will not thole⁴ to luke thy Law within,
 Bot castis it away with greit greuance ;
 Thy counsell thay refuse⁵ and gouernance,
 And following thair awin hartis⁶ consait,
 Euerie man drawis a sindrie gait.

Bot thow, O God, in heuin in to thy Ring,
 Thow mockis⁷ all thair counsellis euerie⁸ one,
 Quhat thay intend, that sall thay neuer bring
 To finall end ; for thy wysdome allone
 Thair pringnant⁹ wittis sall scorne, and anone,
 In thy greit Ire,¹⁰ thow sall thame sair reprufe,
 And from thy face thow sall thame swyith remufe.

For God hes set a Captaine stark and wycht,¹¹
 Christis¹² awin Sone, god and man naturall,
 On Mont Syon,¹³ to reule it Just and rycht,
 That is to say, his¹⁴ Kirk Universal,
 To teach his Fatheris word Celestiall,
 His godlie will and plesour¹⁵ for to schaw,
 Instructing all the warld in to his Law,

God said to him, thow art my Sone¹⁶ and air.
 I the

¹ A. ; They, D. ; That, B. ² A. B. ; against, D. ³ A. B. ; saue all men, D.

⁴ A. D. ; thoill, B. ⁵ A. B. ; refusit, D. ⁶ A. B. ; their owne heartes, D.

⁷ A. ; makis, B. ; makes, D. ⁸ A. B. ; euerieich, D. ⁹ A. ; pregnant, B. D.

¹⁰ A. B. ; yre, D. ¹¹ A. ; wicht, richt, B. ; wight, right, D.

¹² Christis, A. B. ; for Christ [h]is, so D. ¹³ A. ; Sion, B. ; Sinay, D.

¹⁴ A. B. ; Gods, D. ¹⁵ A. ; plesure, B. D. ¹⁶ A. B. ; Sonne, D.

I thé begat for euer, and this day
 Thy deide purchest victorie preclair,
 Syne from the deid thow rais to Ring for ay,
 My chosin in thé, sal not cum to decay,
 Quha trewlie traistis ¹ in thy Godlie name,
 Sall never die Eternallie I plane.

My Sone, I will thé geue all Natiounis ²
 In heritage, and put thame in thy cure;
 To reule thame with thy ministratiounis, ²
 And preif ³ thame with the Croce at thy plesure, ³
 To purge thair fleschlie ⁴ lust, and mak thame pure,
 And for to rais thair myndis spirituall,
 To pryse ⁵ thy name now and perpetuall.

Heirfoir Kingis ⁶ and rewlaris now be war,
 Aduert till Goddis word and Discipline,
 Ressaif his Sone, abone all thing ⁶ prefar
 His godlie word, and keip weill his doctrine.
 Leir ⁷ him to dreid, and traist in till him syne,
 Quhilk ⁸ is the trew wirschip ⁹ and rychteousnes,
 That God requyris ¹⁰ of mankynd mair and les.

Ressaif thairfoir his sweit correctioun,
 That he na mair with zow offendit be:
 Befoir zour eine with trew affectioun,
 And in zour hart, ze haif him Identlie.
 Obey his Law, for quhen greuit is he,
 Than quha dar his Iust Iugement ¹¹ abyde,
 Blissit are thay, quhilk ⁸ in him do ¹² confyde.

¹ So A. B.; trowly trusts, D.

² A. B.; natiouns ministratiouns, D.

³ A. B.; preife, plesour, D.

⁴ A.; fleshlie, B. D.

⁵ A. B.; prayse, D.

⁶ A. B.; kinges, aboue all thinges, D.

⁷ A. B.; Learne, D.

⁸ A. B.; whilk, D.

⁹ A.; worship, B. D.

¹⁰ A. B.; requires, D.

¹¹ A. B.; judgement, D.

¹² A.; on him dois, B.; doth, D.

¶ *Saluum me fac.* Psal. xj.¹

SAIF vs, gude Lord, and succour send,
 For perysit is halynes :
 And treuth away from men is wend,
 And fled fra thame is faithfulness :
 Dissait amang thame sa is ² sawin,
 The veritie may nocht be knawin,
 Thair tungis ³ ar full of fenzeitnes.⁴

Thair leing ⁵ tungis, O Lord, cut out,
 That speikis ⁶ in to thy contemptioun,
 And sayis in all place round about,
 Our tungis ³ hes ane exemptioun,
 Euin, as we pleis, our lippis ⁷ may lie,
 For we haif all authoritie,
 Nane hes of vs dominioun.

Bot God hes said, and will it keip,
 I will ryse vp incontinent,
 For the opprest that sair dois weip,
 And murning of the Indigent.
 The pure that vexit is sa ⁸ soir,
 I will thame ⁹ saif, and thame ⁹ restoir,
 Fra wickit tungis teichement.¹⁰

And Goddis word and promit
 Is trewar, cleirar, and mair pure,
 Than

¹ So Vulgate ; xij. Hebrew.² A. B. ; is sa, D.³ A. B. ; toungs, D.⁴ A. ; feinzeitnes, B. ; feinzeitnes, D.⁵ A. B. ; lying toungs, D.⁶ A. B. ; speiks, D.⁷ A. B. ; lips, D.⁸ A. ; so, B. D.⁹ A. ; them, B. D.¹⁰ A. B. ; wicked tungs teichment, D.

Than ¹ siluer seuin tymes purifyit :
 Sen that thow art in word sa ² sure,
 Thow saif vs from sic sort of men,
 And fra the doctrine that they ken.
 Eternallie on us tak cure.

Quhen Hypocritis ³ ar principall,
 And hiest in authoritie,
 On force, the pepill follow sall
 Thair falset, and Hypocrisie.
 The peple ⁴ follow man, ⁴ on neid,
 Thir prelatis, and thair wickit deid,
 Baith blindit from the veritie.

¶ F I N I S.

¶ *Usque quo Domine. Psal. xxij.*⁵
With the tune of Exaudi, Deus,
Orationem Meam :

O LORD how lang for euer wil thow forzet,⁶
 And hide ⁶ thy face fra me? or zit how lang
 Sall I reheirs thy counsall in my hart?⁷
 Quhen sall my hart ⁷ ceis of this sorie sang?
 [Mine ennemie exaltit be how lang?]⁸
 O Lord, behald, help me, and lycht ⁹ my eine,
 That suddand sleip of deide do me na teine.

Or ellis ¹⁰ quhen my ennemeis ¹¹ seis my fall,

¹ So A.; then, B. D.

² A. B.; so, D.

³ A.; hypocrites, B. D.

⁴ A.; pepill, mon, B. D.

⁵ *Sic* A. and B. for Vulgate xij.; 21, D.

⁶ A. B.; forget, D.; hyde, B. D. ⁷ A. B.; hert, D. ⁸ Supplied from German.

⁹ A.; licht, B.; light, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; els, D.

¹¹ A.; enemeis, B.; enemies sees D.

We did preuail, sune¹ will thay say on me,
 And gif thay sé me be thame brocht² in thrall,
 They will rejoyis³ into thair tyrannie :
 Bot I in God hes hope, and traist to sé
 His godlie help ; than sall I loue the Lord,
 Quhilk⁴ did me safe⁴ fra thame that had me schord.

¶ F I N I S.

¶ *Domine quis habitabit.* Psal. xxiiiij.⁵

O LORD quha sall in heuin dwell with thé,
 In thy tryumphant⁶ throne and Tabernakill?⁷
 Or quha sall, on thy haly hill sa hie,
 Mak residence, and haif⁷ his Habitakill?⁷
 The Innocent, that is ane spektakill
 Of haly lyfe and conuersatioun,
 And Just in all his operation.

And he quhilk⁸ on the treuth⁸ hes all his thocht,⁸
 And with his tung⁹ the same for till furthschaw,
 And quhais tung⁹ his nichtbour noyis nocht,¹⁰
 And hurtis¹¹ nane be boist nor zit be blaw :
 And thocht his nichtbouris fault¹² or vice he knaw,
 He scornis not ; but dois til his brother,
 As that he wald till him did ony vther.

He that hes in na reputatioun

¹ So A.; sone, B.; soone, D.

² A. B.; brought, D.

³ A.; reioyce, B. D.

⁴ So A.; saue, B.; whilk, saue, D.

⁵ *Sic* A. B. D., for xiiij. the number in the Vulgate, but xv. in the Hebrew.

⁶ A.; triumphant, B. D. ⁷ A. B.; tabernacle, habitacle, D.; haue, B. D.

⁸ A. B.; whilk, trueth, thought, D.

⁹ A.; toung, B.; tongue, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; noyse nought, D.

¹¹ A. B.; hurtis, D.

¹² A. D.; faute, B.

The wickit men in nurissing¹ thair vice,
 With flatterie and Adulatioun :
 And all gude men he haldis in to pryse,
 And thay that dreidis God he comptis² wyse.
 Quhateuer he sweir to ony man, or say,
 His promeis³ he will keip³ without delay.

Na occour he will⁴ vse in till⁴ his lane,
 Bot frélie with his nichtbour len and borrow;
 Contrair the Just, reward he will tak nane,
 Bot him defend fra fire,⁵ scham, and sorrow.
 This will he do, at midnicht and [at]⁶ morrow.
 Quhateuer he be, that weill obseruis this,
 Sall neuer perische⁷ bot Ring in heuinnis⁷ blis.

¶ F I N I S.

¶ *Dominus Regit me.* Psal. xxiiij.

THE LORD GOD is my Pastor⁸ gude,
 Aboundantlie me for to feid :
 Than how can I be destitute
 Of ony gude thing in my neid ?
 He feidis⁹ me in feildis⁹ fair,
 To Reueris¹⁰ sweit, pure, and preclair,
 He dryuis me but ony dreid.

My Saull and lyfe he dois refresche,

¹ So A.; nurishing, B.; nourishing, D.

³ A. B.; promise, keepe, D.

⁵ A.; fyre, B.; sinne, D.

⁷ A.; perishe, B.; perish, D.; heuinis, B.; heuens, D. ⁸ A. B.; Pastour, D.

⁹ A. B.; feid, feildes, D.

² A.; countis, B. D.

⁴ A.; will he, B. D.; until, D.

⁶ B. D.; but omitted in A.

¹⁰ A.; riuieris, B.; riuers, D.

And me conuoyis¹ in the way
 Of his Justice and rychteousnes.²
 And me defendis from decay,
 Nocht for my warkis verteousnes,²
 Bot for his name sa glorious,
 Preseruis me baith nycht and day.

And thocht I wauer, or ga wyll,³
 Or am in danger for to die,
 Na⁴ dreid of deide sall cum me till,
 Nor feir⁵ of cruell Tyrannie.
 Because that thow art me besyde,
 To gouerne me and be my gyde,
 From all mischeif and miserie.

Thy staffe, quhair of I stand greit awe,⁶
 And thy scheip huke me for to fang,
 Thay nurtour⁷ me, my faultis⁷ to know,
 Quhen fra the hie way I ga wrang.
 Thairfoir my spreit is blyith⁸ and glaid,
 Quhen on my flesche thy scourge⁹ is laid,
 In the rycht way to gar me gang.

And thow ane Tabill dois prouyde
 Befoir me, full of all delyte,
 Contrair to my persewaris¹⁰ pryde,
 To thair displesour¹¹ and dispyte.
 Thow hes annoyntit¹² weill my heide,
 And full my coupe thow hes maid,
 With mony dischis¹³ of delyte.

Thy

¹ So A. B. ; conuoyes, D. ² A. B. ; richteousnesse, verteousnesse, D.

³ A. ; will, B. ; wander or goe will, D. ⁴ A. B. ; No, D.

⁵ A. B. ; feare, D. ⁶ A. B. ; whereof I stand great aw, D.

⁷ A. ; nurture, B. D. ; fautes, B. ; faults, D. ⁸ A. B. ; blyth, D.

⁹ A. B. ; scourge, D. ¹⁰ A. B. ; perseuaris, D. ¹¹ A. ; displeasure, B. D.

¹² A. ; anointed, B. ; annoynted, D. ¹³ A. ; disches, B. ; dishes, D.

Thy gudnes and beningnitie ¹
 Lat ² euer be with me thairfoir; ³
 And quhill I leue ⁴ vntill I die,
 Thow lay thame vp with me in stoir, ⁵
 That I may haif my dwelling place,
 Into thy hous befoir thy face,
 To Ring with thé for euer moir. ⁵

¶ F I N I S.

¶ *Exultate justi in Domi[no].* Psal. xxxiiij.

ZE rycheous ⁶ reioyis ⁶ and loue the Lord,
 Just men to thank thair God dois weil accord.
 Play on zour lute, ⁷ & sweetly to it sing,
 Tak harpe in hand with mony lustie string,
 Tyrlé on the ten stringit Instrument,
 And pryse ⁸ zour God with hart & hail intent.
 Sing na auld thing the quhilk ⁹ is abrogate,
 Bot sing sum new pleasand perfite ballat :
 Blaw up organis, ¹⁰ with glaid & heuinlie ¹⁰ sound,
 Joyfull in hart, quhill ¹⁰ all the skyis resound.
 For Goddis word is treuth ¹¹ and veritie,
 And dois all his deidis faithfullie.
 The Lord luiffis ¹² Justice and rycheousnes,
 And all the eird ¹³ is full of his gudnes.
 The heuinnis hie war creat be ¹⁴ the Lord,

¹ A.; benignitie, B.; benignity, D.

² A.; Let, B. D.

³ A. B.; bee with mee therefore, D.

⁴ A.; live, B.; while I live, D.

⁵ A. B.; store, more, D. ⁶ A.; richteous, B.; rejoyce, B. D. ⁷ A. B.; lut, D.

⁸ A.; prais, B.; praise, D.

⁹ A. B.; whilke, D.; and so throughout.

¹⁰ A. B.; organs, glad heauenly, whilke, D.

¹¹ A. B.; true, D.

¹² A.; lufis, B.; lufes, D.

¹³ A. B.; earth, D.

¹⁴ A.; wer, B.; heavens hie were create by, D.

Thair ornamentis war ¹ dressit ¹ be his word.
 He heipis up the watteris ² lyke ane hill,
 Syne turnis thame in deip ³ quhen that he wil.
 Dreid ze the Lord all dwellaris ⁴ on the ground,
 And wirschip him all hail ⁵ the warld sa round.
 Quhat God decretis is done incontinent,
 All creature obeyis his commandement.
 The counsellis of the wickit and deuyse
 He perturbis, appeirand neuer ⁶ sa wyse :
 He scornis all thair consultatioun,⁷
 And wickit pepillis Imaginatioun,
 Bot his counsell sall lest perpetuall,
 And sall indure till generatiounis ⁸ all.
 Full happy is the pepill maist and leist,
 Quhilk in thair God & Lord hes all thair traist,
 And quhome that God do cheis ⁹ befor all aige,
 Thame to posseid ¹⁰ in proper heritage.
 The Lord lukis furth of his heuinlie sait,
 And persauis all men of euerie ¹¹ stait ;
 From his tryumphant throne he dois beholde,
 All Natiounis, and dwellaris on the molde.
 For he allone did creat all thair hartis,
 And he allone dois ¹² know all thair warkis.
 The King is not saif be his greit armie,
 Nor Jyand saif,¹³ be strenth of his bodie ;
 The bardit ¹⁴ hors in neid sall men dissaif,
 And mony thousand hors may na man saif.
 The eyis of the Lord thay do aduert,
 Till thame that dreidis him with all thair hart,
 Traistand ¹⁵ his Godlie help with pacience,

¹ A. ; wer, B. ; Their ornaments were dressed, D.

² A. ; wateris, B. ; heaps, . . . waters, D.

⁴ A. ; dwelleris, B. ; dwellers, D.

⁶ A. ; euer, B. D.

⁷ A. ; consolation, B. D.

⁹ A. B. ; dois cheis, D.

¹⁰ A. B. ; posses, D.

¹² A. B. ; did, D.

¹⁴ A. B. ; bardet, D.

³ A. B. ; in the deep, D.

⁵ A. ; hant, B. ; haunts, D.

⁸ A. ; generations, B.

¹¹ A. ; euerilk, B. D.

¹³ A. ; Gyand, B. ; gyand saue, D.

¹⁵ A. ; Traisting, B. ; Trusting, D.

To saif thair¹ lyfe in tyme of pestilence,
 And in the tyme of derth thame¹ for to feid,
 And be thair onlie help in all thair neid.
 Thairfor, my Saull, in God put thy beleif,
 Our strength and targe to saif vs fra mischeif:
 Our hart salbe in to the Lord Joyous,
 Sen we traist² in his³ name maist glorious,
 Assist till vs,⁴ O Lord, for thy gudnes,
 Euin as we traist² in thy greit gentilnes.

¶ F I N I S.

¶ *Noli æmulari.* Psal. xxxvij.

THOW sall not follow wickit mennis wayis,⁵
 Nor zit murne that sinfull haif gude dayis.
 For lyke the widderit hay sune⁶ sall thay faid,
 And as the gers⁷ that wallowis rute and blaid.
 Bot thow⁸ in the Lord put thow thy hail beleif,
 And wirk⁹ his will, & not that may him greif;¹⁰
 And than the frutefull land thow sall posses
 Aboundantie, and sall haif greit ryches.
 Into the Lord put all thy haill delyte,
 And he sall grant thy hartis¹¹ appetyte.
 Schaw furth befor the Lord thy mynde & will,
 And traist¹² in him, he sall it weill¹² fulfill.
 Than as the goldin morning schynis¹³ bricht,
 Sa sall thy Justice schine till euerie wicht,¹⁴

¹ So A. B.; *their, them*, throughout, D. ² A. B.; trust, D. ³ A. D.; thy, B.

⁴ A.; to vs, B. D. ⁵ A. B.; mens way, D. ⁶ A.; sone, B.; soone, D.

⁷ A.; grasse, B. D. ⁸ B. and D. omit *thow* here. ⁹ A. B.; worke, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; that may not him greiue, D. ¹¹ A. B.; heartes, D.

¹² A. B.; trest, well, D. ¹³ A. B.; shines, D. ¹⁴ A. B.; bright, wight, D.

And as the Sone in midday schawis ¹ fair,
 So sall thy vertew knawin be alquhair.²
 Upon the Lord haif euer thyne intent,
 Befoir thy ³ eine and haif him ay present.
 And mufe ⁴ thé not at thair prosperitie,
 That leuis all thair lyfe wrangouslie.
 Remoue rancour and Ire furth of thy thocht,⁵
 The ill exempill of the wickit follow nocht.⁵
 For cruell men sall sune destroyit be ;
 Bot quha abydis the Lord pacientlie,
 Sall bruke the land and his possessioun
 Full peciabilie, without oppressioun.
 Suffer a lytill quhile, and thow sall sé,
 The wickit man perische befor thyne E.⁶
 Thow sall behald him, and his mantioun ⁷
 Be brocht to nocht and vtter confusioun.
 Bot humill ⁸ men sall inherit ⁸ the eird,
 And leif ⁹ in peace fra wickit mennis ⁹ reird.
 The sinfull man with euill will awayit ¹⁰
 The Innocent that can mak na debait,
 With countenance austeir sall on him gyne,
 His Irefull ¹¹ hart with baill sall euer byrne.
 Bot thow, gude Lord,¹² sall lauch thame all to scorne,
 And knawis the tyme that thay salbe forlorne.
 The cruell men sall draw thair birnist ¹³ brand,
 And haif thair bow bent reddy in thair hand,
 For till slay the meik ¹⁴ and Innocent,
 That thay may cum to thair wickit intent.
 Thair awin ¹⁵ sword sall stryke thame throw the hart
 And brokin sall thair bow be in all part.

The

¹ A. B.; shines, D. ² A. B.; be knawin allwhere, D. ³ A.; thyne, B. D.

⁴ A. B.; muse, D. ⁵ A. B.; thought, nought, D. ⁶ A. B.; eey, D.

⁷ A.; mansioun, B. D. ⁸ A.; humbill, B.; humble, D.; inherite, B. D.

⁹ A. B.; leiué, D.; mens, B. D. ¹⁰ A.; await, B.; awaytit, D.

¹¹ A. B.; yrful, D. ¹² A. B.; my Lord, D. ¹³ A. B.; birneist, D.

¹⁴ A. B.; to slay the meeke, D.

¹⁵ A. B.; owne, D.

The lytill of the Iust is mair commendit,¹
 Sa that it be weill win and better spendit,¹
 Than is the greit² ryches of wickit men,
 Quhair³ throw thay do baith God & man misken.
 The power of the wickit sall decay,
 Bot God sall preserue the Iust man for ay.
 The tymes of the Iust God dois record,
 Thair heritage salbe with God the Lord;
 In tyme of perrell thay sall not be agast,
 And in greit² derth thair fude salbe adrest.
 Bot wickit men sall perische⁴ in thair neid,
 And thay that of the gude⁵ Lord hes na dreid,
 Lyke Sacrifice thay sall consumit be,
 Quhair³ of bot reik, thow can na mair sé,⁶
 The wickit man will tak, and will not pay,
 The Iust frélie will gif without delay,
 Quha luiffis him, and of him speikis⁷ gude,
 Sall bruke the land, but quha will delude,
 Or dois blaspheme the kynde and liberall,
 Sall rutit be furth of memoriall.
 The paithis⁸ of the Iust, God dois direct,
 He luiffis him, and will him not neclect:⁹
 Suppose he fall be sey,¹⁰ or zit be land,
 God will erect him with his helping hand.
 I haif bene zung,¹¹ and cum now to greit² age,
 Zit saw I neuer the Iust left in thirlege.¹²
 Nor zit haif sene his posteritie,
 Begand¹³ thair breid for greit necessitie:
 Bot he will gif and len his gude¹⁴ at large,
 Till thame that myster¹⁵ hes, & will him charge.

¹ So A. B.; more commended, winne, spended, D. ² A.; grit, B.; great, D.

³ A. B.; where D, and so through. ⁴ A.; perishe, B.; perish, D.

⁵ Omitted in D. ⁶ A. B.; no more see, D. ⁷ A. B.; loues, speakes, D.

⁸ A. B.; pathes, D. ⁹ A.; neglect, B. D. ¹⁰ A. B.; sea, D.

¹¹ A. B.; beene young, D. ¹² A.; thirlage, B. D. ¹³ A.; Beggand, B. D.

¹⁴ A. B.; len his gudes, D. ¹⁵ A. B.; mister, D.

Zit sall his seid leif into plenteousnes,¹
 Aboundantlie posses greit² ryches,
 He leuis ill, and followis gude thairfoir,³
 With God he sall Ring euer moir;³
 The Lord luiffis⁴ Iustice and equitie,
 And leuis not his Sanctis in miserie,
 For he on thame perpetuallie hes cure,
 Bot wickit mennis⁵ seid sall not indure.
 Iust men with Ioy the eird sall posses,
 And dwell lang tyme on it and haif succes.
 The Iust mannis⁶ mouth exercis⁶ sapience,
 Of equitie ay speik[s], and⁷ of prudence.
 The Law of God is in his hart sa haill,
 In all his wayis thairfoir he can not fail.
 The wickit dois obserue the Innocent,
 To seik to slay him with cruell intent,
 Bot God will not leif him in to his neid,
 Bot will him saif fra tyrannis⁸ wickit deid.
 Thay can not him condampne,⁹ quhen thay accuse,
 Preseruit sall he be from thair abuse.
 Traist¹⁰ in the Lord and keip weill his command,
 And he sall thé exalt in euerie land.
 Posses the eird thow sall and, with thyne E,¹¹
 The wickit men distroyit sall thow sé.
 Sum tyme a Tyrane flureis¹² haif I sene
 Lyke lawre¹³ tré, quhilk euer growis grene:
 Bot in schort tyme sune was he brocht to nocht,¹⁴
 He was not found, nor that belangit him ocht.
 Keip Iustice, and haif E¹⁵ unto the rycht,¹⁶
 That sal mak peace for euer with God of micht,¹⁶
For

¹ So A. B.; liue, plenteousnesse, D.² A. D.; grit, B.³ A. B.; leiuies, therefore, evermore, D.⁴ A. B.; loues, D.⁵ A. B.; wicked mens, D.⁶ A. B.; mans, exercise, D.⁷ A.; speikand, B.; speakand, D.⁸ A. B.; from tyrannies, D.⁹ A. B.; condemne, D.¹⁰ A. B.; trust, D.¹¹ A. B.; eye, D.¹² A. B.; sometime a tyrane flourish, D.¹³ A.; Lawrel, B.; Lawrell, D.¹⁴ A. B.; soone, brought to nought, D.¹⁵ A. B.; *ane* eye, D.¹⁶ right, might, D.

For wrangus¹ men sall end mischeuouslie,
 And wickit mennis fyne is² miserie.
 The Iust all hail vpon the Lord dependis,
 Quhilk is his strenth, & all tymes him defendis³
 God helpis him and sendis⁴ him supplie,
 And sauis him fra Tyrannis⁴ crueltie.
 Because in him he did put his traist,
 In to his trublis greit [nocht]⁵ culd him molest.

¶ F I N I S.

¶ *Exaudi Deus Orationem Meam.* Psal. lxiiiij.

O LORD aduert vnto my voce⁶ and cry,
 Now quhen I pray vnto thy Maiestie.
 From dredour⁷ of my mortall Ennemie⁷
 Defend my lyfe, and als deliuer me.
 Defend me from the fals subtellitie⁸
 Of wickit men, and from the cruelnes⁹
 Of thame that alwayis wirk vnrichteousnes.⁹

Fra thame that hes thair tungis¹⁰ scharp & ground,
 And scharper than ony twa-edgheit¹¹ sword,
 Lyke deidly dartis thow¹² geuis stang & stound,
 Rycht sa proceidis of thair mouth euery word,
 Quhair with to slay, thay think it bot a bourd,
 The Innocent with secret¹³ dissemblance :

¹ So A. B. ; wrongous, D. ² A. D. ; his, B. ³ This line omitted in D.

⁴ A. B. ; helps, sends, Tyranes, D.

⁵ *nocht* omitted in A. B. ; but found in D., and *greit* omitted.

⁶ A. B. ; voyce, D. ⁷ A. B. ; dreidour, enemie, D. ⁸ A. B. ; subtilitie, D.

⁹ A. B. ; cruelnesse, unrighteousnesse, D. ¹⁰ A. B. ; tongue, sharpe, D.

¹¹ A. B. ; sharper than any twa-edged, D.

¹² *Sic* in A. B. D. ; but query if *thow* a misprint for *that* ? ¹³ A. B. ; secret, D.

Without dredour of Goddis vengeance.

Thay haif deuysit abhominatioun,¹
 Among thame selfis² in thair maliciousnes;
 Rycht priuelie³ is thair communicatioun,
 To set thair nettis⁴ with cloikit⁵ craftines,
 With sic deuce as it war halynes,
 That na man suld thair violence espye,
 Quhilk wald reuenge thair fals Hypocrisie.

Thair counsell is to seirche and to Inquyre,⁶
 The Innocent with wrang for till accuse:
 In all this world thay haif na mair desyre.
 For euer in thair mynde of this thay muse,
 Quha will delait⁷ they will mak na refuse
 Of fa, or fule, and for suspitioun
 They will bring men vnto confusioun.

Bot now na mair thair malice sall remaine,
 For God sall stryke⁸ thame in schort⁸ sesoun:
 Of quhome they salbe plaguit with greit⁹ paine,
 And men sall hald thame in derisioun,
 Thair tungis¹⁰ salbe thair awin confusioun,
 Quhilk was sa scharp in contrair Innocence,
 That for thame selffis¹¹ thay sall mak na defence.

Quhen men sall sé this haistie suddand¹² change,
 Than sall thay wunder,¹³ and cleirlye vnderstand,
 That it is God quhilk dois his awin reuenge.
 All men sall sé¹⁴ this wark of Goddis hand,
 And

¹ So A. D.; abhominatioun, B.

³ A. B.; privily, D.

⁶ A. B.; search, inquire, D.

⁸ A. B.; strike, short, D.

¹¹ A.; selfis, B.; selves, D.

¹³ A.; wonder, B. D.

⁴ A. B.; nets, D.

⁹ A. D.; grit, B.

¹² A. B.; see, hastie, sudden, D.

¹⁴ A. B.; see, D.

² A. B.; themselves, D.

⁵ A.; clokit, B. D.

⁷ A.; delay it, B. D.

¹⁰ A. D.; tungs, B.

And sall weil knaw that nane can him withstand :¹
 The Iust sall traist in God, and als rejoyis²
 And all trew hartis sall joy to heir this noyis.²

¶ F I N I S.

¶ *Quam bonus Deus Israell.* Psal. lxxiiij.

TILL trew in hart God of Israell is sweet,³
 Bot stakerand³ almaist failzeit my feit,³
 Quhen I beheld thir peruerst wickit men
 Prosper alway, thocht⁴ thay did God misken.

Thair is na zock thir wickit men may oppres,
 Bot euer in welth plesour⁵ and greit⁶ riches,
 Quhen vther men ar trublit and disesit,⁷
 With all pastyme full plesandlie⁷ thay ar easit.

Throw quhilk thay ar exaltit⁸ in to pryde,
 Thair violence and wrang walkis full wyde,
 Throw thair greit mycht⁹ in alkin lust thay leif,¹⁰
 Quhat thay can think, vnto thair hart thay geif.¹¹

Quhat euer is done, thay think it vanitie,
 Bot gif¹¹ that thay the authoure of it be ;
 God of heuin thay blaspheme with thair mouth,
 To curs¹² all men thay think it na vncouth.

¹ This and the preceding line transposed in D.

² So A. B. ; rejoyce, noyce, D. ³ A. B. ; stagger &, D. ; sweet, feet, D.

⁴ A. B. ; thogh, D. ⁵ A. B. ; wealth, pleasure, D. ⁶ A. ; grit, B. ; great, D.

⁷ A. B. ; troubled, diseasit, pleasantly, D.

⁸ A. B. ; Throw whilk they are exalted, D.

⁹ A. ; thair grit micht, B. ; their great might, D.

¹⁰ A. B. ; all kin lust they liue, D. ¹¹ A. D. ; giue, B. ¹² A. B. ; curse, D.

For this the peple dois flow to and fra,¹
 Quhen thay the wickit with welth sé do swa,
 Thay dar be bald to dout² gif God dois knaw,
 Or vnderstand the breking of his Law.

And I also thocht³ thair prosperitie
 Suld euer indure with thame eternallie.
 And thocht,³ vnto my self I did offence,
 That wusche⁴ my handis, and leuit⁴ in innocence.

To thole distres I thocht³ it was in vaine,
 Baith day and nycht to tak on me sic paine.
 Quhen I had lang argound on sic a kynde,
 The Sonnis of God I dampnit⁵ in my mynde.

I tuke trauell on this to knaw the treuth,
 Bot all for nocht, my laubour⁶ was bot sleuth.
 Quhen⁷ I sall enter in Goddis secreit place,
 Than sall I sé thair end befoir⁷ my face.

Full slyddrie⁸ is the sait⁹ that thay on sit,
 And for thair fault till hell sune sall thay flit,
 For suddanlie¹⁰ thay sall die with mischeif,
 Thair distruction salbe without releif.

As quhen ane man awaikis¹¹ of his dreame,
 Sa sall the Lord distroy thair fulische¹² fame.
 Quhen I had this Imaginatioun,
 My dullit¹³ Spreit was in greit passioun.

Imprudently

¹ A. B. ; pepill, fro, D.

² A. B. ; dare be bauld to doubt, D.

³ A. B. ; thocht, D.

⁴ A. B. ; washed, liued, D.

⁵ A. B. ; damned, D.

⁶ A. B. ; noght, labour, D.

⁷ A. B. ; When, Then, see, before, D.

⁸ A. ; slydrie, B. ; sliddrie, D.

⁹ A. B. ; seat, D.

¹⁰ A. ; suddenlie, B. ; suddenly, D.

¹¹ A. ; awalkis, B. ; when a man awakes, D.

¹² A. B. ; fulish, D.

¹³ A. ; dullie, B. D.

Imprudently this brint I in my thocht,¹
 In thy presence as brutall beist of nocht;¹
 Zit leit thow nocht² me fall in sic ane sort,
 Bot held my hand and gaif me gude confort.³

With thy counsell thow sall me weill conuoy,
 And efter this ressaif⁴ me to thy Ioy.
 O Lord, quhat euer in heuin ordand⁵ for me,
 Outher in eird, compair I not to thé.

Na thing am I, my body nor my hart,
 God is my strenth,⁶ and euer salbe my part.
 Perische⁷ sall thay, that fleis from thé far,⁸
 Loste sall thay be, that ocht to thé prefar.

To me, forsuith, I think it for the best,
 To cleue to God, and on him put my traist,
 And schaw⁹ the nobill warkis that he hes done,
 To quhome be gloir⁹ ringand in his throne.

❧ F I N I S.

❧ *Deus quis similis erit tibi.* Psal. lxxxiiij.

GOD, for thy grace, thow keip no moir silence,
 Ceis not to send thy Sanctis sune support,¹⁰
 Postpon it not, but haist thy vengeance

¹ So A. B. ; thought, noght, D.

³ A. ; comfort, B. D.

⁵ A. B. ; ordain'd, D.

⁷ A. ; perishe, B. ; perish, D.

⁹ A. B. ; shaw, glore, D.

² A. ; not, B. ; But thou let not, D.

⁴ A. ; ressaue, B. ; resaue, D.

⁶ A. B. ; strength, D.

⁸ A. B. ; thee farre, D.

¹⁰ This line is wanting both in B. and D. Mr Laing has supplied conjecturally, "Ceiss not, O God, nor hald thy peax no moir."

On Hypocrites, humlie ¹ I thé exhort :
 For thay Rebellis ² with rage do resort,
 And thay quhilk at thé haif ³ mortall feid,
 Contrair thy mycht hes liftit ³ up thair heid.

And till oppres thy peple ⁴ do pretend,
 Under precept ⁵ and cloikit halynes,
 With subtell slycht ⁶ to slay vs thay intend.⁷
 Confiderat ⁸ thay ar, baith mair and les,
 Contrair thy testament, our hope & richteousnes ;
 Thay say, thay sall us rute from the ground,
 That na mentioun of vs sall mair be found.

Thay now conspyre with cruell hart and fell,
 With ane consent, togidder ⁹ in ane band,
 Quhilk neuer befor culd gré ¹⁰ amang thame sell,
 Stryuand for stait and hicht ¹¹ in euerie land.
 Bot contrair thé togidder stiffe thay stand,
 And fast lyke burris,¹¹ thay cleif baith ane and all,
 To hald, O God, thy word and vs in thrall.

Ze Edomitis ¹² Idoll, with thrinfald ¹³ Crowne,
 The crop and rute of pryde and Tyrannie,
 Ze Ismalitis, with scarlat hat and gowne,
 Zour bludie boist na syth ¹⁴ can satisfie,
 Ze Moabitis, with hornis twa full hie,
 Outwart, lyke scheip,¹⁵ ze beir the beistis mark,
 Inwart, lyke tykis ze byte, but can nocht bark.

Of Agarins quhat tung ¹⁶ can tell the tryne,
 With

¹ A. ; hypocritis, humelie, B. ; humbly, D.

² A. B. ; rebels, D.

³ A. ; haue, lifted, B. D.

⁴ A. ; pepill, B. ; oppresse thy people, D.

⁵ A. ; pretence, B. D.

⁶ A. ; slight, D. ; flycht, B.

⁷ A. B. ; pretend, D.

⁸ A. B. ; Confederat, D.

⁹ A. B. ; together, D.

¹⁰ A. B. ; whilke, before, grie, D.

¹¹ A. B. ; heicht, burres, D.

¹² A. ; Edomeitis, B. ; Edomites, D.

¹³ A. B. ; threefald, D.

¹⁴ A. B. ; syth, D.

¹⁵ A. B. ; Outward lyke sheips, D.

¹⁶ A. B. ; Agarens what tounge, D.

With hurkilit hude ouer¹ a weill nureist² neck?
 Iabell and Amon, als fat as ony swyne,
 Quhilk can not do, bot drink, sing, Iouk & beck;³
 The Amalekis,⁴ that lesingis weill can cleck.⁴
 The Paléstinis,⁵ with dum Doctouris of Tyre,
 Quhilk dar not dispute, bot cryis, fyre, fyre.

Assure⁶ in harnes is with thame euer moir,
 Companzeoun he is perpetuall
 To Lotis Sonnis,⁷ for to mantene thair gloir;
 He wate⁸ nocht ellis, for his conscience is thrall,
 To thame quhilk hes na hope celestially,
 Bot contrair God indurit hes thair hartis
 Syne sylie⁹ Princes, blindly, tak their partis.

O God of gloir resist thair cruelnes,
 As thow sum tyme ouerthrew the Madionitis
 And Sicera, with his maliciousnes,
 And Iabene with his bludie Hypocritis,
 At Kysone flude, as weill the story dytis:¹⁰
 Thay perischit at Endor throw thy mycht
 Syne muk¹¹ become, and fylth, for all thair hicht.

Thair gouernouris and gydis¹² gif sielyke,
 As Oreb, Seb, Seba, and Zelmanie,
 Thair sinnis schawis¹³ thay ar a bludie byke.
 And zit thay wald, throw thair Hypocrisie,
 Posses the Kirk of God, throw tyrannie,
 And will cum to na Counsell Generall,
 For feir thay lose thair pompe pontificall.

¹ So A. D.; ouir, B. ² A. B.; nourisht, D. ³ A.; bek, B. D.

⁴ A.; Amelekis, B. D.; clek, B.; cleke, D.

⁵ A.; Palistenis, B.; Palestenis, D.

⁶ A. D.; Assur, B.

⁷ A.; sonis, B.; sonnes, D. ⁸ A. B.; wates, D. ⁹ A. D.; omitted in B.

¹⁰ A.; Kyson, B. D.; storie, B.; dytes, D.

¹¹ A.; mucke, B.; muke, D.

¹² A. B.; gouernours and *their* gydes, D.

¹³ A. B.; sinnes shawes, D.

As quheill vnstabill¹ and caffé befor the wind,
 And as the wod consumit² is with fyre;
 And as the flame burning, quhair it can find
 The faggat,³ in the feild, with greit³ Impyre:
 Siclyke persew thame with thy greuouse⁴ Ire,
 Lat thy tempest thair wraithfulnes⁵ reuenge,
 And lat thy storme thair pryde in purteth change.

Confound thame, Lord, that thay may seik thy name,
 Perturbe thair mynde with cair⁶ continuall.
 And lat thame perische & cum till vtter schame:
 Lat them know thé, for the God eternall,
 Allanerlie⁷ on thé allone to call.
 And thé obey, abone all eirdlie⁷ thing,
 Maist michtiest,⁸ maist hiest in thy Ring.

¶ F I N I S.

¶ *Qui habitat in adiutorio.*

Psalm lxxxj.⁹

QUHA on the hiest will depend,
 And in his secreit help will¹⁰ traist,
 Almychtie¹¹ God sall him defend
 And gyde¹² him with his haly Gaist,
 Thairfoir, with mynde rype and degest,¹³
 Thow say to God, My trew releue,
 My hope, my God of mychtis¹⁴ maist,
 Onlie

¹ So A. B. ; wheill unstable, D.

³ A. B. ; faggot, D. ; grit, B. ; great, D.

⁵ A. B. ; wrathfulnes, D.

⁷ A. B. ; Allanerly, alone, aboue, eirdly, D.

⁹ Sic for lxxxj.

¹¹ A. ; Almichtie, B. ; Almighty, D.

¹³ A. B. ; mind ripe and digest, D.

² A. B. ; wood consumed, D.

⁴ A. B. ; grieuouse, D.

⁶ A. ; care, B. D.

⁸ A. B. ; mightiest, D.

¹⁰ A. B. ; sall, D.

¹² A. B. ; guide, D.

¹⁴ A. ; michtis, B. ; mightis, D.

Onlie in him I will beleue.

He sall deliuer thé at neid,
 And saue thy lyfe from pestilence :
 His wingis ¹ ar thy weirlie weid,²
 His pennis ³ ar thy strang defence.
 And thow sall haif ⁴ experience,
 That his trew promeis is thy scheild,⁵
 His word of greit magnificence,
 Sall be thy buklar ⁶ and thy beild.

Na wickit spreit ⁶ sall thé affray,
 Nor thé delude in to the nycht,
 The fleand dartis,⁷ be the day
 To trubill thé,⁸ sall haif na mycht.⁹
 Na suddand chance of uncouth slycht,
 Sall cummer thé, nor mak thé red,
 Nor thé perturb in mark nor lycht ¹⁰
 Bot from all plague thow sall be fréed.

And thow sall sé, at thy left hand,
 Ane thousand haif ane suddand ¹¹ fall.
 And als thow sall sé ten thousand,
 At thy rycht hand, quhilk perische ¹¹ sall.
 Zit nocht ¹² to thé sall cum at all.
 Bot thow sall with thy ¹³ eine behald,
 Sinnaris ¹⁴ put fra memoriall,
 With plagues greit and monyfeld.

O Lord my hope and [all] ¹⁵ my grace

¹ So A. B. ; wings, D.

³ A. ; pennes, B. ; pens, D. ⁴ A. ; haue, B. D.

⁶ A. B. ; wicked sprit, thee, D.

⁸ A. B. ; trouble thee, D. ⁹ A. ; haue, B. D. ; nicht, slicht, B. ; might, slight, D.

¹⁰ A. ; licht, B. ; mirk nor light, D.

¹² A. B. ; noght, D.

¹³ A. ; thine, B. D.

² A. B. ; weerely weed, D.

⁵ A. B. ; sheild, buklar, D.

⁷ A. B. ; fleand darts, D.

¹¹ A. B. ; sudden, perish, D.

¹⁴ A. B. ; Sinners.

¹⁵ B. D.

Thow saif¹ me for thy greit¹ mercy.
 Thy gyrrh is set in sicker place,
 For he sall saif¹ thé mychtfullie.²
 And na mischance sall cum to thé,
 Nor maledie³ sall thé molest.
 Na misfortoun⁴ thy hous sall sé,⁴
 Bot all thingis wirk sall for the best.

His Angellis⁵ he sall gif⁶ ane charge,
 That thay on thé sall tak the cure,
 In all thy wayis to be ane targe,
 To keip thé from misauenture.
 And with thair handis⁷ thay sall thé sure,
 That thow hurt nocht aganis⁷ ane craig
 Thy fute, bot sall preserue thé sure,
 From perrellis, panis, and from plaig.⁸

Thow sall strampe on the edderis⁹ stang,
 And tred on the cruell Cocketrice.¹⁰
 The Lyounis¹¹ Craig thow sall ouer gang,
 The dreidfull Dragoun¹¹ thow sall chase.
 Sen thow me traistis in all case,
 Sayis God, I sall thé saif¹² from schame,
 And thé defend in euerie place,
 For cause thow knew¹³ my godly name.

Quhen thow sall call I sall thé heir.
 And in distres sall be with thé,
 I sall restoir thé haill and feir,
 And als I sall thé magnifie.

With

¹ So A. D. ; saue, grit, B.

³ A. B. ; malady, D.

⁵ A. B. ; Angels, D.

⁷ A. B. ; hands, agains, D.

⁹ A. B. ; edders, D. ; stang, A. D. ; strang, B.

¹⁰ A. B. ; Cockatrice, D.

¹² A. B. ; saue thee, D.

² A. ; michtfullie, B. ; michtfully, D.

⁴ A. B. ; misfortune, see, D.

⁶ A. ; giue, B. D.

⁸ A. B. ; perile, pains, *the* plague, D.

¹¹ A. ; Lyonnis, B. ; Lyons, Dragon, D.

¹³ A. B. ; knows, D.

With lang lyfe doutit¹ sall thow be,
 And at the² last I sall thé bring,
 Quhair thow eternall gloir sall sé,
 For euer mair³ with me to Ring.

¶ F I N I S.

¶ *In exitu Israell.* Psal. lxxxj.⁴

QUHEN fra Egipt departit Israell,
 And Jacobis house fra peple barbour⁵ fell,
 To Iuda, Lord, thow wes his Sauour,
 And to Israell ane gyde and Gouvernour,⁶
 Quhilk, when the sé had sene, for feir it fled,
 The flude Iordane zeid bak, it was sa red.
 The montanis⁷ muift⁸ & ran athort lyke rammis
 The hillis dansit and lychtly lap lyke lambis.
 Thow swelland sey⁹ quhat muift⁸ thé to flé?
 To gang abak Iordane quhat aillit thé?
 Quhat gart zow montanis¹⁰ lyke rammis¹¹ stert & stend?
 And ze hillis lyke lambis loup and bend?
 It was the Lordis feir that maid sic reird,
 And Jacobis God perturbit all the eird.
 For God turnit the craig in fresche reueir.
 The barrane¹² bra in fontane¹³ watter¹⁴ cleir.

Not¹⁵ vnto vs, not vnto vs, O Lord,
 Bot to thy sweit promeis, and to thy word,
 And to thy name be gloir allanerlie.

¹ A. ; dotit, B. ; doutet, D.

² A. B. ; thy, D.

³ A. ; moir, B. D.

⁴ *Sic* for Vulgate cxij.

⁵ A. ; pepill harbour, B. ; pepils harbour, D.

⁶ A. B. ; guide and governour, D.

⁷ A. ; mountainis, B. ; montaines, D.

⁸ A. B. ; mouit, D.

⁹ A. B. ; sea, flie, D.

¹⁰ A. B. ; montaines, D.

¹¹ A. ; ramis, B. ; rams, D.

¹² A. B. ; river, barren, D.

¹³ A. B. ; Fontaine, D.

¹⁴ A. ; water, B. D.

¹⁵ Mr Laing's reprint of B. inserts before this line [*Non nobis Domine*, Psal. cxv.], but in the Vulgate, and the metrical German version here followed, Psalms cxiv. and cxv. of the Hebrew form but one Psalm, numbered cxij.

Quhilk keipis thy promeis faithfullie.¹
 Thairfoir lat not our Ennemeis blaspheme
 Thy Maiestie, for we may not sustene²
 To heir thame say, quhair is thy greit³ ascence,
 The³ godly help of thy magnificence?
 Our God forsuith Ringis in heuin⁴ full hie,
 And quhat him listis or lykis, workis⁵ he.
 Thir⁶ Imagis of stock, stane, gilt with gold,
 Ar maid⁶ be men, and syne for money sold :
 Thay haif⁷ a mouth can nouthur say nor sing.
 Thair eine ar blind, and thay can sé nathing,⁸
 Thay can not heir, thocht men do cry and zell,
 Thair nois thirlis⁹ can nouthur sauer nor smell ;
 Thay haif handis can nouthur feill nor grope,
 Thair fundyit feit can nouthur gang nor loupe ;
 Thay can pronounce na voce furth of thair throtis,¹⁰
 Thay ar ouergane with mouswobis & moitis.¹¹
 Quha makis thame, or traistis in thair support,
 Ar lyke to thame in all maner of sort.
 Bot thow Israell, in God put thy traist,
 Thy Protector in to thy myster maist :
 Ze house of Aron,¹² in God put zour beleif,
 Zour defendar, and na man can zow greif.
 All wirschipperis¹³ of God traist in his name,
 He is zour help and sauieur allane.
 The Lord hes mynde and mercy vpon vs,
 Will fauour vs, and bring vs to his blis,
 Als feid the hous of Israell with his fude,
 And to the hous of Aron¹² will be gude.
 Thow sall do weill to thame that dreidis thé.¹⁴
Baith

¹ So A. B. ; Whilke keepes thy promise faythfully, D.

² A. B. ; susteine, D.

³ A. D. ; grit, thy, B.

⁴ A. B. ; rings in heuin, D.

⁵ A. B. ; lykes, workes, D.

⁶ A. B. ; Their, are made, D.

⁷ A. ; haue, B. D. ; and so throughout.

⁸ A. B. ; eene, see nothing, D.

⁹ A. B. ; noise thirlis, D.

¹⁰ A. B. ; voyce, throts, D.

¹¹ A. ; mouswobs, B. ; musewobs, motes, D.

¹² A. ; Aaron, B. D.

¹³ A. ; worshippers, B. D. ; trust, D.

¹⁴ A. B. ; doe well, dreids thee, D.

Baith zung & ald,¹ quhat stait that euer thay be,
 God sall augment his peple and incres,
 And eik thair Sonnis & dochteris² mair & les.
 He is the Lord that creat heuin
 And eird,³ with his creatures, in dayis³ seuin.
 The heuinnis⁴ ar the Lordis habitatioun,
 The eird he gaif⁵ to mannis propagatioun.
 The deide may not thé loue amang⁶ the laue,
 Nor thay that ar discendit in thair graue :
 Bot we that ar on liue⁷ sall loue and sing
 To God, for euer vnto our lyues ending.⁷

¶ F I N I S.

¶ *Nisi quid Dominus.* Psal. cxxiiij.

EXCEPT the Lord with vs had stand,
 Say furth, Israell, vnfenzetlie,
 Had not the Lord bene our warrand,⁸
 Quhen men rais in our contrairie,⁹
 Thay had us all on liue deuorit,¹⁰
 With Ire sa scharplie thay vs schorit,¹⁰
 Sa kendlit¹⁰ was thair crueltie.

For lyke the welterand wallis brym,¹¹
 Thay had ouerquhelmit¹² vs with mycht
 Lyke burnis that in spait fast rin,
 Thay had ouerthrawin vs with slycht.¹³

¹ So A. ; 3oung & auld, B. ; yong and old, D.

² A. ; sonnes, B. ; *his* sonnes daughters, D.

³ A. B. ; earth, dayes, D.

⁴ A. B. ; heuins, D.

⁵ A. ; gaue, B. ; giues, D.

⁶ A. ; among, B. D. ; noght loue, *omitting* thee, D.

⁷ A. B. ; life, end, D.

⁸ A. B. ; the second and third lines transposed in D.

⁹ A. B. ; countrey, D.

¹⁰ A. B. ; deuored, shored, kendled, D.

¹¹ A. B. ; water and wallis bryme, D.

¹² A. B. ; ouerwhelmed, D.

¹³ Or flycht ; slicht, B. ; flight, D.

The bulrand stremis of thair pryde,
 Had peirsit¹ vs throw bak¹ and syde,
 And reft fra vs our lyfe full rycht.²

Bot louing to the Lord, allone,
 That gaif³ vs nocht³ to be thair pray,
 To be rent with thair teith anone,
 Bot hes vs fréd full well thame fray.⁴
 Lyke to ane bird taine in ane⁵ net,
 The quhilk the foular⁶ for hir set,
 Sa is our lyfe weill win away.

The net is brokin in pecis⁷ small
 And we ar sauit fra thair schame :⁷
 Our hope was ay, and euer sall
 Be in the Lord, and in his name,
 The quhilk has creat heuin sa⁷ hie,
 And maid the eird sa meruellouslie,⁷
 And all the ferleis of the same.

❧ F I N I S.

❧ *De Profundis.* Psal. [c]xxx.

FRA deip, O Lord, I call to thé,⁸
 Lord heir my Inuocatioun.
 Thy eiris thow inclyne⁹ to me,
 And heir my Lamentatioun :
 For

¹ So A.; perishit, B.; perished, D.; bake, D. ² A.; richt, B.; right, D.

³ A.; gaue, B. D.; noght, D. ⁴ A. B.; fra, D. ⁵ A. B.; a, D.

⁶ A.; foullar, B.; Fowler, D. ⁷ A. B.; pieces, shame, so, so marueilouslie, D.

⁸ A. B.; on thee, D. ⁹ A. B.; thou incline, D.

For gif thow will our Sin impute
Till vs, O Lord, that we commit,
Quha¹ may byde thy accusatioun?

Bot thow art mercyfull and kynde,
And hes promittit in the² write,
Thame³ that repent with hart and mynde,
Of all thair Sin to mak thame³ quyte :
Thocht I be full of sinfulness,
Zit thow art full of faithfulness,
And thy promiseis⁴ trew and perfyte.

My hope is steidfast⁵ in the Lord,
My Saull euer on him traist,
And my beleue is in thy word,
And all thy promittis⁶ maist and leist
My Saull on God waits,⁷ and is bent,
As watchman wald⁸ the nycht war⁹ went,
Bydand the day to tak him rest.

Israell in God put thy beleue,¹⁰
For he is full of gentilnes,
Fredome, gudnes and [s]all¹¹ releue
All Israel of thair distres.
He sall deliuer Israell,
And all thair sinnis¹² sall expell,
And cleith thame with his rychteousnes.¹²

❧ F I N I S .

¹ So A. B. ; Wha, D.

² So A. ; but B. & D. read *thy*.

³ A. ; them, B. D.

⁴ A. B. ; promise, D.

⁵ A. B. ; stedfast, D.

⁶ A. B. ; promises, D.

⁷ A. ; waitis, B. ; wates, D.

⁸ A. B. ; watchmen wauld, D.

⁹ A. ; nicht wer, B. ; night were, D.

¹⁰ A. B. ; beleife, D.

¹¹ A. D. ; sall, B.

¹² A. ; sinneris, B. ; sinners, D. ; richteousnes, B. ; righteousness, D.

¶ *Super flumina Babilonis.*

Psal. cxxxviij.

AT the Reueris of Babilone,¹
 Quhair¹ we dwelt in Captiuitie,
 Quhen¹ we rememberit² on Syone,³
 We weipit² all full sorrowfullie.
 On the sauch treis⁴ our harpis we hang,
 Quhen thay requyrit⁴ vs ane sang,
 That⁵ held vs in sic thirldome.⁵
 Thay bad vs sing sum Psalme⁶ or hymne,
 That we sumtyme sang Syone³ in ;
 To quhome we answerit² full sune,

How may we outhier play or sing,
 The Psalmes of our Lord sa sweet,
 In till ane uncouth land or Regne?⁷
 My ryght⁸ hand first sall that forleit,
 Or Jerusalem forzettin be,
 Fast to my chaftis my tung⁹ sall be
 Claspit, or that I it forzet,
 In my maist glaidnes¹⁰ and my game,
 I sall remember Jerusalem,
 And all my hart vpon it set.

O Lord think on the Idomeis,¹¹
 How thay did at Jerusalem,
 Thay bad distroy with cruelteis,¹²
 Put

¹ So A.; Riuers of Babylon, B. D.; Where, When, D.

² A. B.; remembered, weeped, answered, D.

³ A.; Sion. B.; Syon, D.

⁴ A. B.; saugh-trees, required, D.

⁵ A. B.; They, thraldome, D.

⁶ A. B.; Psalmes, D.

⁷ A.; reigne, B. D.

⁸ A.; richt, B.; right, D.

⁹ A.; toung, B. D.

¹⁰ A.; glaidness, B.; gladnesse, D.

¹¹ A.; Edometis, B.; Edomites, D.

¹² A. B.; cruelties, D.

Put all to sack and it ouerquhelm.¹
 Bot wrackit² sall thow be Babilone,³
 And blissit⁴ is that Campione⁵
 Sall serue thé, as thow seruit⁴ vs.
 And he that sall thy biarnis⁶ plaig,
 And rasche thair harnis aganis⁷ a craig,
 Is happy and full glorious.

¶ F I N I S.

¶ *Exaltabo te.* Psal. cxliiij.

I WILL thé loue my gracious Lord & King
 Thankand thy name for euer wil I sing :
 All tyme I will reioyis⁸ and sing to thé,
 And pryse⁹ thy name also perpetuallie.
 Greit is the Lord, and all laude dois excell,
 And his greit nicht quha can discriue or¹⁰ tell?
 Ane generatioun thy warkis dois declair
 Unto ane vther, and als thy greit powair,¹¹
 Thy gloir, thy greitnes, and thy magnificence,
 Thy nobill actis digne of remembrance,¹²
 I will furth schaw thy meruellis¹³ sa greit,
 Thy magnitude I will it put in dyte.
 Memorie als of thy greit gentilnes¹³
 We sall ay sing, and of thy rychteousnes.¹³
 The Lord is meik, and mercyfull is he,
 Slaw to reuenge, and to forgiue reddie :¹⁴

¹ So A.; ouirquhelm, B.; ouerwhelme, D. ² A.; wrackit, B.; wratched, D.

³ A.; Babylon, B. D. ⁴ A. B.; blessed, serued, D. ⁵ A. B.; Champion, D.

⁶ For bairnis; barnis, B.; bairnes, D. ⁷ A. B.; rash their harnes against, D.

⁸ A.; rejoyce, B. D. ⁹ A. B.; praise, D. ¹⁰ A. B.; and, D.

¹¹ A. B.; power, D. ¹² A. B.; actes and digne remembrance, D.

¹³ A. B.; marueilles, gentillesse, richteousnesse, D. ¹⁴ A. B.; redie, D.

Courtes, and kynde till [all]¹ men is the Lord,
 In all his warkis [he]² is misericord,
 And all thy³ warkis⁴ do thank thé thairfoir,
 And all thy Sanctis⁴ to thy name gif gloir,⁴
 The gloriousnes of thy Kingdome [they]² teiche,
 And with thair tung⁵ thy greit power preiche,
 Till all natiounis thy magnitude and mycht,
 Of thy riche renown the heuinly lusum⁶ lycht.
 Thy royall Realme is Realme of Realmes all,
 And thy Impyre indure for euer sall.
 The Lord is help to thame that slyde & stummer,
 Thame that trublit⁷ ar bringis out of cummer.
 All mennis eine, O Lord, do thé abyde,
 Thow feidis thame in all tyme and tyde :
 Thow oppinnis⁸ furth thy hand full graciusslie,
 And satisfyis⁹ all flesche aboundantie.
 In all his wayis⁹ the Lord is just and rycht,
 In all his warkis⁹ is sanctifyit¹⁰ his mycht,
 Till all call¹⁰ on the Lord, he is full neir,
 Sa that in trew beleif be thair prayer.
 He grantis¹¹ thair desyre that dreidis¹¹ him,
 And heiris thame and forgeuis¹¹ thair Sin.
 All thame that luiffis¹² the Lord, he sauis¹¹ thame,
 And he confoundis¹¹ all sort of wickit men.
 The louing of the Lord my mouth sall sound,
 All leuing man¹³ in to this warld sa round
 Sall loue thy name, perpetuall and moir,
 Gif moir may be, Regnand in to thy gloir.

¶ F I N I S.

¹ So B. D.; but wanting in A.

³ A. B.; the, D.

⁵ A.; toung, B.; tongue, D.

⁷ A. B.; troubled are, D.

⁹ A. B.; satisfies, wayes, warkes, D.

¹¹ A. B.; grants, dreads, forgeues, saues, confounds, D.

¹² A.; luffis, B.; loues, D.

² So D.; but wanting in A. B.

⁴ A. B.; warkes, Sanctes, giue glore, D.

⁶ A. B.; lousome light, D.

⁸ A. B.; openest, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; sanctified, calles, D.

¹³ A.; louing men, B. D.

¶ *Deus venerunt gentes.* Psal. lxxix.¹

THE Hethin folk,² Lord, in thy heritage
 Hes cumin,³ till exerce thair tyrannie,⁴
 And hes defylit, euer to this aige,
 The Tempill, quhilk was dedicat to thé,
 Quhilk haly⁵ was, and zit sall blissit⁵ be.
 Jerusalem, as appellis,⁶ lay in heip.
 Bot thow, gude Lord, ryse up and na mair sleip.

Thair tyrannie aganis thy commandis,⁷
 Rycht cruellie exersit in dispyte,
 Hes put to deide thy Just and trew seruandis,
 The foulis of the heuin,⁸ with greit delyte,
 Did eit thair flesche, and beistis⁸ sair culd byte
 Thair bodyis, quhen thay lay in commoun streit ;
 Jerusalem thairfoir rycht sair did weip.⁹

Thair blude was sched, as Reueris¹⁰ of a well,
 That compast hes Jerusalem about :
 Nane was that nicht thair tyrannie⁴ expell,
 Aganis thame¹¹ it was sa strang and stout.
 Thair bodyis, throw thair danger & greit dout,
 Unburyit was, void¹² of all Sepulture,
 That nane to bury thame wald tak the cure.

Our nichtbouris,¹³ Lord, hes mockit¹³ vs with scorne,

¹ So A.; lxxvij., B. D. ² A. B.; Heathen folke, D. ³ A.; cum in, B. D.

⁴ A. B.; tyrrannie, D.

⁵ A. B.; holy, blessed, D.

⁶ A.; appillis, B. D.

⁷ A. B.; bodies, against thy commands, D.

⁸ A. B.; foules of the heauen, beistes, D.

⁹ A. B.; right sore did weepe, D.

¹⁰ A.; Riveirs, B.; Riurs, D.

¹¹ A.; aganis them, B.; agains them, D.

¹² A.; voide, B.; voyd, D.

¹³ A. B.; nighbours, mocked, D.

And leuch¹ at vs with greit Illusioun,
 Bot thow, gude Lord, lat² vs not be forlorne :
 How lang sall we remaine in confusioun?
 Will thow vs hald in thair abusioun?
 Unto the end sall thy wraith burne as fyre?
 Allace,³ gude Lord, remoue⁴ fra vs sic Ire.

Rather cast furth thy greif and cruelnes
 On wickit⁵ men, quhilk neuer will thé⁵ know,
 And Realmes quhilk misknaw thy godlynes,⁶
 Not hauand E⁷ vnto thy godlie⁶ Law.
 For Jacob and his hous thay sair ouerthraw,⁸
 And hes vs left all solpit⁹ in to cair,
 Beleuand for to bring us to dispair.

Auoyde, Lord, furth of thy remembrance,
 Our sinful lyfe, that we haif sleipit in.
 Our will sall be thy mercie till auance,¹⁰
 For be the samin remittit¹¹ is our Sin :
 And as watter,¹¹ [that]¹² fast rinnis¹³ ouer ane¹⁴ lin,
 Dois not returne againe to the awin place,
 Sa thow, gude Lord, put our sin from thy face.

Help us, gude Lord, our gyde and Gouvernour,
 Delyuer vs for thy names saik glorious :
 Thou art our hope, our help and Sauour,
 And als our sinnis¹³ maist dangerous
 Dois put away, for that thou promeist vs,
 Quhen we will turne to thé with a trew hart,¹⁵
 And fra our sinfull lyfe to thè conuert.

For

¹ So A. B.; leugh, D.

² A.; let, B. D.

³ A. B.; Alace, D.

⁴ A.; remufe, B. D.

⁵ A. B.; wicked, thee, D.

⁶ A. B.; godlines, godly, D.

⁷ A. B.; Ee, D.

⁸ A. D.; they, D.

⁹ A.; follit, B.; foldit, D.

¹⁰ A.; aduance, B. D.

¹¹ A. B.; remitted, D.; A.; water, B. D.

¹² D.; *that* wanting in A. B.

¹³ A. B.; rinnies, sinnes, D.

¹⁴ A. B.; a, D.

¹⁵ A. B.; hert, D.

For schaw¹ thow not thy mercie² in distres,
 Our Ennemeis² sall grow in Tyrannie.
 And sal say, God hes left us mercyles,¹
 Bot thow, gude Lord, exerce thy crueltie
 Upon our fais, that sayis schamefullie,³
 Quhair⁴ is thair⁴ God, in quhom thay did beleif?
 He hes thame left, without help and releif.

The vengeance of the blude of thy seruandis,⁵
 Mot cum in to thy presence and thy sycht.⁶
 The greting⁷ of thy pure that ar in bandis,⁵
 In prisoun⁷ pynde, of day wantand the lycht,⁶
 The voce⁸ of thame that to the deid ar dycht,⁶
 Heir now, gude Lord, & help thame in thair neid,⁹
 And be thair strenth at all tymes and remeid?⁹

Reward thy¹⁰ fais, according to thair wrang.
 Seuinfald, thair sin, gude Lord, mot punist¹¹ be,
 For thay haue blasphemit all tó¹⁰ lang,
 Speikand contrair thy godlie¹² Maiestie,¹³
 Bot we thy peple¹⁴ and scheip¹⁵ sall magnifie,
 And als exalt thy laude, thy name and gloir,
 And sall thé loue for now and¹⁶ euermoir.

¶ F I N I S.

¶ *Miserere mei Deus.* Psal. li.

¹ So A. B.; shaw, merciles, D.

² A.; mercy, Enemies, B. D.

³ A. B.; sayes shamefully, D.

⁴ A. B.; Quhere, their, D.

⁵ A. B.; seruands, bands, D.

⁶ A.; sicht, licht, dicht, B.; sight, light, dight, D.

⁷ A. B.; greeting, prison, D.

⁸ A.; voyce, B.; voice, D.

⁹ A. B.; need, remeed, D. ¹⁰ A. B.; their, too, D. ¹¹ A.; puneist, B. D.

¹² A.; godly, D. ¹³ A.; Majestie, B.; Maiesty, D. ¹⁴ A.; pepill, B. D.

¹⁵ A. B.; sheep, D.

¹⁶ A. D.; now and for, B.

HAIF¹ mercy on me, God of mycht,¹
 Of mercy Lord and King :
 For thy mercy is set full rycht
 Abuse² all eirdlie thing.
 Thairfoir³ I cry baith day and nycht,
 And with my hart³ sall sing :
 To thy mercy with thé will I go.
 Haif mercy on me, O gude Lord,
 Efter thy greit mercie :⁴
 My sinfull lyfe dois me remord,
 Quhilk sair hes greuit thé :
 Bot thy greit grace hes me restord,
 Throuch Christ⁵ to libertie.
 To thy mercy with thé will I go.

¶ *Et secundum multitudinem.*

Gude Lord I knaw my wickitnes,⁶
 Contrair to thy command ;
 Reblland ay with cruelnes,
 And led me in ane band
 To Sathan, quha is mercyles,⁷
 Zit, Lord, heir me cryand,
 To thy mercy with thé will I go.
 Quhat tung⁸ can tell the multitude,
 Lord, of thy greit mercie.⁴
 Sen sinnaris⁹ hes thy Celsitude
 Resistit¹⁰ cruellie.
 Zit na sinnar⁹ will thow seclude,
 That this will cry to thé,
 To thy mercy with thé will I go.

¶ *Amplius laua me.*

Thow

¹ B. & D. have *haue* throughout instead of *haif*; B. has *nicht, richt*, &c.; and D. *might, right*, &c., also throughout.

² So A.; *aboue*, B. D. ³ A. B.; therefore, hert, D. ⁴ A. B.; mercy, D.

⁵ A.; Throw, B.; grace, D. ⁶ A. B.; wickednes, D. ⁷ A. B.; merciles, D.

⁸ A.; *toung*, B.; King, D. ⁹ A.; sinners, sinner, B. D. ¹⁰ A. B.; resisted, D.

Thow wusche¹ me Lord quhen I was borne,
 From all my wickitnes;²
 Bot zit I did, throw sin, forlorne
 Of heuin the rychteousnes.
 Wesche³ me againe, and from thy horne
 Deliuer me in stres :

To thy mercy with thé will I go.
 And fra my sin thow mak me clene,
 As thow maid⁴ Dauid King :
 With Peter, Paull, and Magdalene,⁵
 Quha now dois with thé Regne⁶
 In heuinlie Joy, fair and amene ;
 And I sall with thame sing,
 To thy mercy with thé will I go.

¶ *Quoniam iniquitatem.*

Full weill I knaw my wickitnes,²
 And Sin contrarious :
 Blasphemit hes⁷ thy gentilnes,⁸
 With sin maist dangerous,
 And hes me led in heuynes,⁸
 Zit, O⁹ God, maist gracious,
 To thy mercy with thé will I go.
 I grant my sinfull lyfe¹⁰ did use,
 In Sensualitie ;¹⁰
 Zit thow gude Lord will nane refuse
 That will cum¹¹ vnto the.
 Heirfoir I scharply¹² me accuse,
 Cryand for thy mercie :
 To thy mercie with thé will I go.

¶ *Tibi soli peccaui.*

¹ So A.; wushe, B.; wyshe, D.

³ A. B.; wash, D.

⁵ A.; Paule, B.; Paul, Magdalen, D.

⁷ A. B.; haue, D.

⁹ A. B.; to, D.

¹¹ A. B.; come, D.

² A. B.; wickednes, D.

⁴ A. B.; made, D.

⁶ A. reigne, B.; ring, D.

⁸ A. B.; gentlenes, heuines, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; life, sensuality, D.

¹² A.; schairply B.; sharply, D.

Onlie¹ to thé I did offend
 And mekle¹ euill hes done ;
 Throw quhilk, appeirandlie,¹ defence
 To me is nane abone :
 Thus men will Juge,² thy Just vengeance
 Hes put me fra² thy throne :

Zit to thy mercy with thé will I go.
 Thocht³ thow, gude Lord, be Jugeit⁴ thus,
 Full fals and wrangouslie :
 O God, sa gude and gracious,
 Lat thair Jugeing⁴ vencust⁵ be,
 And schaw⁶ thy mercy plenteous,
 Quhilk mot vs Justifie.

To thy mercy with thé will I go.

[*Ecce enim in iniquitatibus.*]

Consauit in to sin I am,
 My wickitnes⁷ thocht³ thow behald,
 Quhilk I contractit⁷ of Adame,
 Sinnand rycht mony fald :
 My Mother als did eik the same,
 And I to sin was sald.

To thy mercy with thé will I go.
 Bot zit the Lord omnipotent,
 My cairfull case⁸ did cure ;
 At Font quhen I was impotent,
 Fragile, vaine, vylde,⁹ and pure.
 Than¹⁰ helpit me that King Potent,
 In my misauenture.

To thy mercy¹¹ with thé will I go.

¶ *Ecce enim veritatem.*

Behald thow luiffis treuth,¹² gude Lord,
 Thow

¹ So A.; only, mekill, appeirandly, B. D.

² A.; judge, from, B. D.

³ A. B.; Thoght, D.

⁴ A.; judgeit, judgeing, B.; judged, judging, D.

⁵ A.; vincust, B. D.

⁶ A. B.; shaw, D.

⁷ A. B.; wickednes, contracted, D.

⁸ A.; cace, B.; care, D.

⁹ A. D.; vyle, B.

¹⁰ A. B.; Then, D.

¹¹ A. B.; mercie, D.; and so in next seven stanzas, and occasionally afterwards.

¹² A.; lufis, B.; lufis trueth, D.

Thow art the veritie :
 This weill thy promeis can record,
 Quhair¹ thow dois it schaw to me,
 The hid things of thy godly¹ word,
 That war¹ vnsure to me.
 To thy mercy with thé will I go.
 Thow hecht² to Abraham anone
 Isack³ his eldest Sone :
 Thow promeist als that Salomone,
 Suld bruke King Daudis⁴ throne.
 To sinnaris⁵ als that callis⁶ thé one,
 Grace cumis⁵ from abone.
 To thy mercy with thé will I go.

¶ *Asperges me.*

With Isope Lord thow strinkill⁷ me,
 And than⁸ I sall be clene⁹
 And clenar¹⁰ than⁸ maid sall I be,
 Than⁸ euer snaw hes bene,
 Zit of my clenes¹¹ thy mercy
 The rute is euer sene.⁹
 To thy mercy with thé will I go.
 This Isope is humilitie,
 Rycht law in till assence;¹²
 The snaw sa quhyte¹² in all degré,¹²
 Betakinis¹³ Innocence.
 For and thir twa do gouerne me,
 I sall do nane offence.
 To thy mercy with thé will I go.

Auditui meo dabis.

Than⁸ Ioy and Myrth¹⁴ thow sall me geue,¹⁵

¹ So A. B.; Quhere, godlie, were. ² A. B.; heght, D. ³ A. D.; Isaack, B.
⁴ A.; Daudis, B.; Davids, D. ⁵ A.; sinners, cummis, B. D.
⁶ A. B.; calles, D. ⁷ A.; sprinkill, B.; sprinkle, D.
⁸ A.; then, B. D. ⁹ A. B.; cleene, seene, D.
¹⁰ A. B.; cleerar, D. ¹¹ A.; clenenes, D.; clensen, B.
¹² A. B.; ascence, white, degree, D. ¹³ A.; Betakinnis, B.; Betakens, D.
¹⁴ A.; mirth, B. D. ¹⁵ A.; giue me, D.

Thy mercy quhen I heir :
 My banis ¹ law thow sall releue,
 And be my scheild ² and speir :
 Thy sword also rycht soir ² sall greue,
 My Ennemeis ³ with feir.

To thy mercy with thé will I go.
 My hope and traist hes bene tó lang
 In mennis ² fals supplie,
 Quhairfoir ² I grant, I haif ⁴ done wrang,
 Nocht hopeand help of thé.⁵
 Bot now with steidfast ⁵ Faith I gang,
 Unto thy Maiestie.

To thy mercy with thé will I go.

¶ *Auerte faciem tuam.*

Fra my Sinnis ⁶ aduert ⁷ thy face,
 My wickitnes ² expell :
 Sen I haif hopit ⁸ in thy grace,
 Thow saue me from the hell,
 Thy mercy is set in sicker place,
 Na sinnar ⁶ can repell.⁹

To thy mercy with thé will I go.
 The theif ¹⁰ that hang on the ¹⁰ rycht hand,
 And sufferit ¹⁰ with thé deide :
 In the last hour ¹⁰ thy mercy fand
 For sin the haill remeid :
 Siclyke, gude Lord, heir me cryand,
 And help me in my neid.

To thy mercy with thé will I go.

¶ *Cor mundum.*

Thow creat in me, O God, ane hart
 Baith

¹ So A.; bandis, B.; bands, D.

² A. B.; sheild, sore, mens, quherefore, wickednes, D.

³ A.; enemies, B. D.

⁴ A.; haue, B. D.

⁵ A. B.; hopand, thee, stedfast, D.

⁶ A.; sinnes, sinner, B. D.

⁷ aduert in A. as well as in B. D., although it gives *auerte*, but they *aduerte*.

⁸ A.; haue hoppit, B.; haue hopit, D.

⁹ A. B.; expell, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; thief, thy, suffered, houre, D.

Baith clene¹ and Innocent ;
 And lat me nocht² from thé depart,
 My God Omnipotent.
 Sen vnto thé I schaw¹ my smart,¹
 Rycht pure¹ and indigent :
 To thy mercy with thé will I go.
 Renew me with thy haly Spreit,
 To help my febilnes :³
 My teiris³ sall my cheikis weit,
 For my greit sinfulness.
 Bot thow, gude Lord, my confort⁴ sweit,
 Expell my wickitnes.³
 To thy mercy with thé will I go.

¶ *Ne proicias me.*

O gude Lord, cast me nocht⁵ away
 From thy perfite presence :
 Sen that I grant my sinnis⁵ ay,
 Hes done thé greit offence.
 And I sall pryse⁶ baith nycht and day,
 Thy greit magnificence.
 To thy mercy with thé will I go.
 Tak nocht fra⁷ me thy godlie⁸ Spreit
 In my aduersitie :
 For till my Saull it is full sweit,
 Quhen sin besettis me.⁹
 And thow sall mak⁹ my Saull full meit,
 Unto thy Maiestie.
 To thy mercy with thé will I go.⁹

¶ *Redde mihi.*

Gif¹⁰ me the blythnes¹⁰ and the blis

¹ So A. B.; cleene, shaw, smert, poore, D.

² A.; let me not, B. D.

³ A. B.; feeblenes, teires, wickednes, D.

⁴ A.; comfort, B. D.

⁵ A.; not, sinnes, B. D.

⁶ A.; prais, B.; praise, D.

⁷ A.; not from, B.; take not from, D.

⁸ A.; godly, B. D.

⁹ A. B.; When sinne besettes mee, make, goe, D.

¹⁰ A.; Giue, B. D.; blythnes, D.

Of my sweit Sauour :
 For throw his bitter deide¹ I mis
 Of hell the dyntis dour.
 And, in this mortall lyfe,² he is
 My strang defence and tour.

To thy mercy with thé will I go.²
 Conforme³ thy Spreit, maist³ principall,
 In to me throw thy grace :
 For sin⁴ rycht lang held me in thrall,
 And put me from thy face.
 Zit vnto thé my Lord I call,
 In to my heuie case.⁴

To thy mercy with thé will I go.²

¶ *Docebo iniquos.*

Then I sall teiche the wickit⁵ men,
 Thy wayis⁶ Iust and rycht :
 And thay⁶ that did thé lang⁶ misken,
 Sall knaw⁶ the God of Mycht.
 Quhen thay sall ryse⁷ furth of the den,
 Of sin,⁷ and cum⁷ to lycht.

To thy mercy with thé will I go.
 The sinfull than⁸ to thé reuart,⁹
 Sall in to gudlie haist ;
 And rew thair sinnis⁹ with thair hart,⁹
 And thair auld lyfe⁹ detest,
 And to thame, Lord, thow sall conuart,⁹
 Quhen thay thy mercy¹⁰ taist ;
 To thy mercy with thé will I go.¹⁰

¶ *Libera me.*

Deliuier me from blude schedding,¹¹
 For

¹ So A.; deid, B. D. ² A. B.; life, goe, D. ³ A. B.; confirme, most, D.

⁴ A. B.; sinne, hauie cace, D.

⁵ A. B.; teich the wicked, D.

⁶ A. B.; wayes, they, long, know, D. ⁷ A. B.; When they sall rise, sinne, come, D.

⁸ A.; then, B. D.

⁹ A. B.; reuert, sinnes, hert, life, conuert, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; mercie, goe, D.

¹¹ A. B.; sheding, D.

For blude betakinnis Sin :¹
 For punischement I serue condong,
 Zit efter thé¹ I rin :
 Grant me that I may with thé Regne,²
 And at thy port get in.
 To thy mercy with thé will I go.
 Than³ sall my tung⁴ thy rychteousnes
 Extoll, and Magnifie :
 Quhen gaine³ is my greit sinfulness,
 And greit Iniquitie.
 God for thy grace and gentilnes,
 Grant me thy greit⁵ mercy.
 To thy mercy with thé will I go.

[*Domine labia mea.*]

My lippis⁶ Lord than⁶ louse thow sall,
 Quhilk closit lang haif⁷ bene :⁶
 From thy louing sair bound in thrall,
 Brekand thy sweit biddene,⁶
 And keip⁶ me from ane suddand⁶ fall,
 For greit paine I sustene.⁶
 To thy mercy with thé will I go.
 And than⁶ my mouth sall do furth schaw⁷
 Thy louing glorious ;
 And I sall cause all sinnaris⁸ knaw
 Thy mycht sa meruellous.⁷
 And fra thyne furth sall keip thy Law
 Quhilk is sa precious.
 To thy mercy with thé will I go.

¶ *Quoniam si voluisses.*

Gif thé had plesit⁹ sacrifice
 I suld thame offerit⁹ thé.

¹ So A. B. ; betakins sinne, after thee, goe (so to the end), D.

² A. ; reigne, B. ; ring, D.

³ A. B. ; then, when, D. ; gane, B. D.

⁴ A. ; toung, B. ; tongue, D.

⁵ Omitted in D.

⁶ A. B. ; lippes, then, beene, bedene, keep, sudden, sustaine, D.

⁷ A. B. ; haue, doe furth shaw, so marvellous, D.

⁸ A. ; sinners, B. D.

⁹ A. B. ; thou had pleased, offered, D.

Bot thow will ¹ nocht ² sic auarice,
 For thow art wounder ³ fré,
 And geuis ¹ vs thy benefitis,³
 Throw Christis ¹ blude frélie.¹

To thy mercy with thé will I go.
 Brint Sacrifice is na delyte ⁴
 Unto thy Maiestie :
 Thow curis nocht of it ane myte,⁴
 For sin ⁴ to satisfie :
 For onlie Christ did mak vs quyte
 Of all Innormitie.⁵

To thy mercy with thé will I go.

¶ *Sacrificium Deo.*

Ane Sacrifice to thé plesand ⁶
 Is ane sweit humill ⁷ hart.⁶
 Unto the quhilk,⁶ I understand,
 Thow dois thé haill conuert.
 Thairfoir,⁶ gude Lord, lat thy comman d,
 Na ⁶ way fra mé depart.

To thy mercy with thé will I go.
 Ane contryte ⁸ hart do not dispyse,⁹
 God, for thy greit mercy :
 Sen for thy grace, sa oft, it cryis,¹⁰
 For succour and supplie.
 And it sall thank ane thousand syse,
 Thy godly Maiestie.

To thy mercy with thé will I go.

¶ *Benigne fac Domine.*

To Syone,¹¹ Lord, be gude againe,
 Efter thy godly will :

And

¹ So A. B. ; wilt, giues, Christes, freely, D.

³ A. ; wonder, benefites, D.

⁵ A. ; ennormitie, B. ; enormitie, D.

⁶ A. B. ; plesand, hert, whilke, therefore, no, D.

⁷ A. ; humbill, B. ; humble, D.

⁹ A. ; dispise, B. ; despise, D.

² A. ; not, B. ; nought, D.

⁴ A. B. ; delite, mite, sinne, D.

⁸ A. ; contrite, B. D.

¹⁰ A. B. ; cries, D.

¹¹ A. ; Sion, B. ; Syon, D.

And lat¹ thy louing thair remaine,
 Thy promeis to fulfill.
 For Mont Syone,² with greit disdane,¹
 In thrall is hiddertill.

To thy mercy with thé will I go.
 Jerusalem did get ane fall,
 Hir wallis war maid³ full law :
 For scho miskennit³ the God of all,
 And daylie brak³ his law :
 Bot thow sall put hir out of thrall,
 Quhen scho³ hir God dois knaw.³
 To thy mercy with thé will I go.

¶ *Tunc acceptabis.*

Than⁴ Sacrifice thow sall accept,
 Of treuth⁵ and rychteounes :
 Conforming to thy trew precept,
 And to thy gentilnes.
 For na man than⁴ sall thow except,
 In to thair neid and stres.

To thy mercy with thé will I go.
 Than⁴ Calfis⁵ and brint Sacrifice
 Thy Aulter⁶ sall repleit.
 Than greitar gloir⁵ and benefice,
 Thow sall mak⁵ for vs meit,
 Quhair⁵ day and nycht we sall not ceas⁷
 Ay singand *Sanctus*⁸ sweit.
 To thy mercy with thé will I go.

¶ F I N I S.

¹ So A.; let, disdaine, B. D.

² A.; Sion, B.; Syon, D.

³ A. B.; were made, shee miskenned, dayly brake, when shee, does know, D.

⁴ A.; Then, B. D.

⁵ A. B.; truth, calves, glore, make, where, D.

⁶ A.; altar, B.; alter, D. ⁷ A.; ceis, B.; ceiss, D. ⁸ A. B.; with Sainctes, D.

¶ *Beati omnes qui timent.* Psal. cxlvii.¹

BLISSIT ar thay that sit in Goddis dreid,²
 And leif³ in his commandement alway :
 Of thy hand laubour⁴ thow sall eit, be not feird,
 And fair weill thow sal euerie day.

Thy wyfe⁵ salbe as ane frutefulle⁶ wyne,⁵
 And sall weill ay increas thy hous ;
 Thy bairnis⁶ all sall to vertew inclyne,⁵
 As fair Oliue treis that be plenteous.

Quhen⁷ euer thow sittis⁷ at thy tabill,
 Thy bairnis⁶ sall stand round about thé ;
 Sa⁷ will the Lord mak⁷ thé abill,
 And fill thy hous⁷ with honestie :

Sa sall God⁸ him euer blis,
 That dreidis⁸ him ay in his leifing,⁹
 Always sall he be sicker of this,
 That is neidful to want na⁸ thing.

Fra Syone¹⁰ sall the Lord blis thé,
 That thow may sé to thy greit weill,
 How prosperous Jerusalem sall be,
 And thow ressaut¹¹ to eternall¹² heill.

Ane profitabill lyfe sall be geuin¹¹ thé,

¹ So A.; probably for cxxvii., the number in the Vulgate.

² A.B.; Blessed are they that sittis in Gods, D.

³ A.; liue, B. D.

⁴ A.; labour, B.; labor, D.

⁵ A. B.; wife, wine, incline, D.

⁶ A.; fruitefull, barnis, B.; fruitfull, bairnes, D.

⁷ A. B.; When, sittes, so, make, house, D.

⁸ A. B.; the Lord, dreids, no, D.

⁹ A.; leuing, B. D.

¹⁰ A.; Sion, B.; Syon, D.

¹¹ A. B.; receiued, guen, D.

¹² A.; greit, B.; great, D.

And God alway sall be¹ thy freind :
 Thy Childeris Childring² thou sall se,¹
 And peace in Israell sall thow find.

¶ F I N I S.

FOR lufe³ of one, I mak³ my mone,
 Rycht³ secreitlie,
 To Christ Jesu, that Lord maist³ trew
 For his mercy.³
 Beseiking that fré, grant grace to me,⁴
 Or I be gone ;
 And to redres, my heuynes,⁴
 And all my mone.
 Or I be deide, send me remeid,
 For thy pietie,⁵
 O Lord, quhilk wrocht⁵ all thingis⁶ of nocht,⁵
 Grant me thy mercy.
 We thé beseik⁷ with wordis meik,⁷
 O mercyfull Lord,
 Thy humill⁷ word, with ane accord,
 Lat⁸ be restoird⁸
 To sinnaris⁸ all, quhen thay do call,
 For thy mercy.
 For quhilk,⁵ on Rude, thow sched⁹ thy blude,
 Rycht plenteouslie ;
 Sanct Johne did tell, thow heryit hell,
 And schew⁹ mercie.
 Ane thousand scoir⁹ thow did restoir⁹

¹ So A. B. ; salbe, see D. ² A. ; childeris children, B. ; childrens children, D.

³ A. B. ; loue, make, right, most, mercie, D.

⁴ A. B. ; Besikand that hee grant me grace, redresse my heauinesse, D.

⁵ A. B. ; pitie, whilke wrought, nought, D. ⁶ A. ; all thing, B. D.

⁷ A. B. ; beseike, wordes meike, humbill, D.

⁸ A. ; let, restored, B. D. ; sinneris, B. ; sinners, D.

⁹ A. B. ; shed, shew, score, restore, D.

To thy glorie.
 O King of peace, in quhome is grace,
 Haboundantlie,¹
 My miserabill lyfe, and sinnis ryfe,¹
 Thow forgeue¹ me.
 Sen be na rycht, I haif² na mycht,
 Me to defend
 Fra hellis pane,³ bot gif² thow plane,³
 Me succour send.
 Be thy sweet word to me, O Lord,
 In my distres;³
 Ane thousand syse, than sall I pryse
 Thy halynes.
 Lat vs now sing, and loue that⁴ King,
 For his greit mercie :
 And his greit grace, schawin⁴ vs the space,
 Sa plenteouslie.
 With ane accord, lat vs thank the Lord
 Rycht hartfullie;⁴
 With hart⁴ and Spreit, sing Psalmes sweet,
 Rycht plesandlie.⁵
 As brether deir, in this lyfe heir,
 We may indure :
 Baith nicht⁶ and day, to Christ lat vs pray,
 To mak vs sure.

¶ F I N I S.

Q UHO is at my windo, quho, quho?⁷
 Go⁷ from my windo, go, go.
 Quha

¹ So A. B. ; Aboundantly, sinnes rife, forgive, D.

² haue, giue, B. D.

³ A. B. ; helles paine, plaine, destresse, D.

⁴ A. B. ; *our*, shawne, heartfully, hert, D.

⁵ This line omitted in D.

⁶ A. B. ; Both night, D.

⁷ A. B. ; who? goe, D. ; and so in stanzas 3, 5.

Quha callis thair,¹ sa lyke ane stranger,²
Go from my windo, go.

Lord I am heir, ane wratcheit³ mortall,
That for thy mercy³ dois cry³ and call,
Unto thé my Lord Celestiall,
Sé quho is at my⁴ windo, quho.

How dar thow for mercy cry?³
Sa lang in Sin⁵ as thow dois ly,⁵
Mercy to haif⁶ thow art not worthy,⁵
Go from my windo, go.

My gylt, gude Lord, I will refuse,
And the wickit lyfe⁷ that I did vse
Traistand thy mercy sall be myne⁷ excuse,
Sé quho is at thy windo, quho.

To be excusit,⁵ thow wald rycht faine,
On spending of thy lyfe in vaine,
Hauing my Gospell in greit disdaine,
Go from my windo, go.

O Lord I haif⁶ offendit⁸ thé,
Excuse thairof thair can nane be,
I haif⁶ followit⁸ thame that sa teichit⁸ me,
Sé quho is at my⁴ windo, quho.

Nay, I call the nocht⁹ fra my dure,⁹ I wis,
Lyke ane¹⁰ stranger that vnknawin is,

¹ So A. B. ; calles there, D.

² A. D. ; a strangair, B.

³ A. B. ; wratched, mercie, dare crie, D.

⁴ *Sic* in A. B. D., but probably should be *thy*, as it is actually given in the second following verse in A., where B. and D. have still *my*.

⁵ A. B. ; sinne, lye, worthie, excused, D.

⁶ A. ; haue, B. D.

⁷ A. B. ; wicked life, my, D.

⁸ A. B. ; offended, followed, teiched, D.

⁹ A. B. ; noght, doore, D.

¹⁰ A. ; any, B. ; a, D.

Thow art my brother, and my will it is,
In at my dure that ¹ thow go.

With rycht humill ² hart Lord I thé ¹ pray,
Thy confort ² and grace obtene ³ I may,
Schaw ⁴ me the path ⁵ and reddy ⁴ way
In at thy dure for to go.

I am cheif gyde to riche and pure, ⁴
Schawand ⁴ the path ⁵ way rycht to my dure,
I am their confort ² in euerie hour,
That in at my dure will go.

Bot thay that walk ane vther way,
As mony did teiche from day to day,
Thay were indurit, my Gospell did say,
And far from my dure sall go.

O Gracious Lord, confort ² of all wicht, ⁶
For thy greit power and excellent micht, ⁶
Sen thou art cheif ⁷ gyde, and verray licht, ⁶
In at thy dure lat me go.

Man I gaif ⁸ thé nocht ⁹ fré will,
That thow suld my Gospell spill;
Thow dois na gude bot euer ill,
Thairfoir from my dure that thow go.

That will, allace ! hes me begylit, ¹⁰
That will sa sair hes me defylit, ¹⁰
That

¹ A. and D. have *that* before *thow*, B. has it before *In*. A. and D. have *I thé* in second stanza; B. has *thé I*; D., for dure, has *doore* throughout.

² A.; humbill, B.; humble, comfort, D.

³ A.; obtaine, B.; obtaine, D.

⁴ A. B.; shaw, shawand, ready, poore, D.

⁵ A. D.; paith, B.

⁶ A. B. wight, excelling might, very light, D.

⁷ B. and D. insert *cheif* in line 2, and omit it in line 3.

⁸ A.; gauge, B. D.

⁹ A. B.; noght, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; begyled, defyled, D.

That will thy presence hes me exilit¹
Zit in at thy dure lat me go.

To blame that will thow dois not rycht,²
I gaif³ thé ressoun, quhairby thow mycht²
Haif⁴ knawin the day by the dark nycht,²
In at my dure for to go.

Lord,⁵ I pray thé with all my hart,
Of thy greit mercy remufe my smart,
Lat⁶ ane drop of thy Grace be my part,
That in at thy dure I may go.

I haif⁷ spokin in my Scripture,
I will the deide of na creature :
Quha will ask mercy, sall be sure
And⁸ in at my dure for to go.

O Lord, quhais mercy is but end,
Quhairin ocht⁹ to thé I did offend,
Grant me space my lyfe to amend,
That in at thy dure I may go.

Remember thy Sin, and als my¹⁰ smart,
And als for thé quhat was my part,
Remember the speir that thirlit my hart,
And in at my dure thow sall go.

And it war¹¹ zit, till do againe,
Rather or thow suld ly¹² in paine,

¹ So A. B. ; exyled, D.

² A. ; richt, &c., B. ; right, &c., D.

³ A. D. ; gaue, B.

⁴ A. ; haue, B. D.

⁵ A. B. ; O Lord, D.

⁶ A. B. ; Let, D.

⁷ A. ; haue, B. D. ; spoken, D.

⁸ A. B. ; but *And* omitted in D.

⁹ A. B. ; Quherein oght, D.

¹⁰ A. ; thy, B. D.

¹¹ A. D. ; wer, B.

¹² A. B. ; lye, D.

I wald suffer mair in certane,¹
That in at my dure thow mycht go.

I ask nathing of thé thairfoir,²
Bot lufe for lufe to lay³ in stoir,²
Gif² me thy hart, I ask no moir,²
And in at my dure thow sall go.

O Gracious Lord Celestiall,
As thow art Lord and King Eternall,
Grant vs grace that we may enter all,
And in at thy dure for to⁴ go.

Quho is at my windo, quho?
Go from my windo, go;
Cry na mair thair,⁵ lyke ane stranger,
Bot in at my dure thow go.

❧ F I N I S.

❧ *Deus Misereatur.* Psal. lxvii.

O God be mercyfull⁶ to vs,
And send to vs thy blissing,⁶
Thy face schaw⁷ vs sa glorious,
And be euer to vs luiffing:⁷
That men on eird may know thy way,
Thy sauing heill and rychteousnes,⁸
That

¹ So A. ; certaine, B. D.

³ A. B. ; lufe for life, to ly, D.

⁵ A. B. ; no more there, D.

⁷ A. B. ; shaw, luiffing, D.

² A. B. ; therefore, store, giue, more,¹D.

⁴ A. B. ; let me go, D.

⁶ A. B. ; mercifull, blessing, D.

⁸ A. ; richteousnes, B. ; righteousnes, D.

That thay be nocht¹ led nicht¹ nor day,
 Fra thy preceptis,¹ and trew Justice,
 To seik Saluatioun¹ quhair nane is.

Thairfoir² the pepill mycht² magnifie,
 O God, all folk,³ and honour thy name.
 Lat⁴ all the⁵ pepill reioyis⁴ glaidlie,²
 Because thow dois rycht without blame.
 The peple dois thow Juge³ trewlie,
 And ordouris⁶ euerie Natioun.
 Thow hes declarit⁷ the eird justlie,
 Euer sen the first Creatioun,
 Throw thy godlie prouisioun.

The peple moste⁸ spred thy name sa hie,
 All peple,⁹ O God, mon geue⁹ thé honour :
 The eird alswa rycht plenteouslie,
 Mot increas¹⁰ euer moir and moir.
 And God, quhilk is our God, ouer all,
 Mot do vs gude and plesour.
 God mot blis¹⁰ vs, greit and small.
 And all the warld him honour,
 Alway for his mycht and power.

❧ F I N I S.

IN till ane myrthfull Maij morning,
 Quhen Phebus did vp¹¹ spring :
 Walkand¹² I lay, in ane garding gay,

¹ So A. B.; noght, night, precepts, saluation, D.

² A. B.; Therefore, might, right glaidlie, D.

⁴ A.; Let, rejoyce, B. D.

⁶ A. B.; orders, D.

⁸ A.; pepill moste, B.; pepill man spread, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; encresse, blesse, D.

³ A.; folke, judge, B. D.

⁵ A. B.; *the* omitted in D.

⁷ A. B.; gouerned, D.

⁹ A.; pepill, giue, B. D.

¹² A. B.; Waking, D.

Thinkand on Christ sa fre :
 Quhilk meiklie for mankynde,
 Tholit to be pynde,
 On Croce Cruellie. La. La.

And how he hes me wrocht,¹
 And formit me of nocht,¹
 Lyke his picture, that ² Lord maist sure,
 In eird he hes me support ;
 Syne me to hauld in rycht,³
 Hes send ane Angell brycht,³
 To be my confort.⁴ La. Lay.⁵

O Sathan fals, vntrew,
 Quhilk cruellie dois persew,
 With violence and greit defence,
 In eird to tempt mankynde,
 With cruell Sinnis seuin,
 The Saule ⁶ to gyde from heuin
 To hell, for to be pynde. La. Lay.⁵

Thairfoir,⁷ O Gracious Lord,
 Quhilk mercy hes restoird,⁸
 That sinfull wycht ⁹ distroy ¹⁰ his mycht ⁹
 Quhilk wirkis aganis ¹¹ thy gloir :
 And send thy gracious word,
 Thy peple may be restoird ⁸
 We pray thé thairfoir. La. Lay.¹²

❧ F I N I S.

¹ So A. B.; wrought, noght, D.

² A. D.; the, B.

³ A.; richt, nicht, B.; right, might, D.

⁴ A.; comfort, B. D.

⁵ A.; La, B.

⁶ A.; saull, B. D.

⁷ A. B.; Therefore, D.

⁸ A. B.; restord, D.

⁹ A.; wicht, nicht, B.; wight, might, D.

¹⁰ A.; destroy, B. D.

¹¹ A. B.; wirks agains, D.

¹² A. B.; La, D.

ALL my hart ay this is my sang,
 With doubill² myrth and ioy amang,
 Sa blyith³ as byrd my God to fang,
 Christ hes my hart ay.

Quha hes my hart bot heuinnis³ King?
 Quhilk causis me for joy to sing,
 Quhome that I lufe attour⁴ all thing,
 Christ hes my hart ay.

He is fair, sober, and bening,
 Sweit, meik, and gentill⁵ in all thing,
 Maist worthyest⁶ to haif⁷ louing,
 Christ hes my hart ay.

For vs, that blissit bairne⁴ was borne,
 For vs, he was baith rent and torne,
 For vs, he was crownit⁸ with thorne,
 Christ hes my hart ay.

For vs, he sched his precious blude,
 For vs, he was naillit on the rude,
 For vs, he in mony⁸ battell stude,
 Christ hes my hart ay.

Nixt him to lufe his Mother fair,
 With steidfast hart,⁹ for euer mair,
 Scho bure the byrth,⁹ fréd vs from cair,
 Christ hes my hart ay.

¹ Title in A. D. ; but in B. "Christ hes my hart ay."

² A. ; dowbill, B. ; doubil, D.

⁴ A. D. ; atour, barne, B.

⁶ A. ; worthiest, B. D.

⁸ A. B. ; crowned, many, D.

³ A. B. ; blyth, heuins, D.

⁵ A. B. ; Sweet, meek, gentle, D.

⁷ A. ; haue, B. D.

⁹ A. B. ; stedfast hert, birth, D.

We pray to God that sittis abufe,¹
 From him lat neuer our hartis¹ remufe,¹
 Nor for na suddand warldly lufe;²
 Christ hes my hart ay.

He is the lufe of luiffaris³ all,
 He cumis,⁴ on him quhen we call,
 For vs he drank the bitter gall;
 Christ hes my hart ay.

❧ F I N I S.

MY lufe murnis for me, for me,
 My lufe that murnis for me,
 I am not kynde,⁵ hes not in mynde
 My lufe that murnis for me.

Quha is my lufe, bot God abufe,⁶
 Quhilk all this world hes wrocht;⁶
 The King of blis,⁶ my lufe he is,
 Full deir he hes me bocht.

His precious blude he sched on rude,
 That was to mak us fré;
 This sall I preue, be Goddis⁷ leue,
 That sair my lufe murnis for me.

This my lufe come fra abufe,⁶
 And borne was of ane maid:

For

¹ So A. B.; aboue, hart, remoue, D.

³ A. B.; loue of louers, D.

⁵ A. D.; unkynde, B.

² A. B.; no sudden worldly loue, D.

⁴ A.; cummis, B.; cums, D.

⁶ A. B.; aboue, wroght, blisse, D. ⁷ A. B.; Gods, D.

For till ¹ fulfill, his Fatheris ¹ will,
Till filfurth ² that he said.

Man haif in mynde, and thow be kynde,
Thy lufe that murnis for thé,
How he on Rude did sched his blude,
From Sathan to mak thé fré.³

❧ F I N I S.

TELL me now, and in quhat wyse,
How that I suld my lyfe forga,⁴
Baith day and nycht ane thousand syse
Thir ⁵ tyrannis waiknis ⁵ me with wa.⁴

At midnycht ⁶ myrk ⁶ thay will vs tak,⁶
And in to presoun ⁷ will vs fling :
Thair mon we ly, quhill we forsaik ⁶
The name of God, quhilk is our King.

Than faggottis ⁸ man ⁹ we burne or beir,
Or to the deide thay will vs bring ;
It dois thame gude to do vs deir,
And to confusioun vs downe ⁹ thring.

Allace ! zour grace hes done greit wrang,
To suffer tyrannis in sic sort,
Daylie zour liegis ¹⁰ till ouergang,
That dois ¹¹ bot Christis ¹¹ word report.

¹ So A. B.; to, Fathers, D. ² A.; fill furth, B. D. ³ A. B.; make vs free, D.

⁴ A. D.; forgo, wo, B.

⁵ A.; walkins, B.; Their, waikens, D.

⁶ A. B.; night, mirke, take, forsake, D.

⁷ A.; prisone, B.; prison, D.

⁸ A. B.; faggots, D.

⁹ A. D.; mon doun, B.

¹⁰ A.; leigis, B.; Lieges, D.

¹¹ A. B.; does, Christs, D.

Christ, sen zour grace wald cry ane cry,
 Out throw the Realme of all Scotland.
 The man that wald leue ¹ faithfullie,
 Ze wald him suffer in the land.

Than ² suld we outhur do or die,
 Or ellis ³ our lyfe we suld lay for it,
 And euer to leue ¹ in cheritie,
 Be Christ Jesu, ⁴ quhilk is our Lord.

Pluk ⁵ up zour hartis, and mak zow bowne,
 For Christis word se ze stand for it;
 Thair crueltie it sall cum downe,
 Be Christ Jesu, ⁴ quhilk is our Lord.

Thow King of gloir, ⁶ grant vs thy blis, ⁶
 Send vs support and comforting, ⁷
 Aganis our fais that byssie ⁸ is,
 That schapis till ⁹ stroy, baith auld and zung. ⁸

In hour of deid, grant vs thy strenth,
 Glaidlie to thole ¹⁰ thair crueltie,
 And that we may with thé at lenth,
 Ressaif ¹¹ thy Joy Eternallie.

❧ F I N I S.

Magnificat anima mea.

M^Y Saule

¹ So A.; liue, B. D.

² A.; Then, B. D.

³ A. B.; els, D.

⁴ A. D.; Jesus, B.

⁵ A. B.; Pluck, D.

⁶ A. B.; glory, blisse, D.

⁷ A.; comforting, B. D.

⁸ A.; bissie, B.; bisie, D.; zing, B.; zoung, D.

⁹ A. B.; Thy sheipe to, D.

¹⁰ A.; thoill, B. D.

¹¹ A.; Ressaue, B.; Receiue, D.

MY Saule dois magnifie the Lord,
 My spreit reioysis¹ gretumlie,
 In God my Sauour, and in his word,
 For he hes sene the law degre,
 Of me, his handmadin,² trewlie ;
 Behald now efter this day,
 All generationis³ sall speik of me,
 And call me blissit⁴ alway.

For he that is onlie of mycht,⁴
 Hes done greit thingis vnto me,
 And haly is his name be richt.⁴
 As for his endles⁴ mercy,
 It indures⁵ perpetuallie,
 In euerie generatioun,
 And thay that dreidis him vnfengeitlie,
 Without dissimulatioun.

He schawis⁶ strenth, with his arme potent,
 Declairis⁶ him self to be of power.
 He scatteris⁶ all men of proude intent,
 Euin for thair wickit behauour,
 Quhilk regnis⁷ in thair hartis euerie hour :
 He puttis⁸ downe the michtie⁸
 From thair hie estait, and greit honour,
 Excelling⁹ thame of law degre.

The hungrie¹⁰ feidis he¹¹ with gude,
 And lattis¹² the ryche ga emptie :
 Quhen his awin peple¹³ wantis fude,

¹ So A. ; rejoycis, B. ; rejoyces, D.

² A. B. ; maiden, D.

³ A. ; generations, B. D.

⁴ A. B. ; blessed, might, right, endlesse, D.

⁵ A. ; duris, B. ; indureth, D.

⁶ A. B. ; shaws, declares, scatters, D.

⁷ A. ; reignes, B. D.

⁸ A. B. ; puttes, mighty, D.

⁹ A. ; extolling, B. D.

¹⁰ A. D. ; hountrie, B.

¹¹ A. B. ; he feides, D.

¹² A. ; lettis, B. ; lets, D.

¹³ owne people, D.

It thinkis¹ vpon his greit mercy.
 And helpis² his seruandis² ane and all,
 Euin Israell he hes promysit,³
 And to our Fatheris² perpetuall,
 Abraham and to his seid.

¶ F I N I S.

¶ *Christe qui lux [es.]*

CHRIST thow art the lycht,⁴ bot and the day,
 The mirknes⁵ of nicht thow puttis⁵ away;
 We know thow art the verray⁵ lycht,
 That schynis⁵ to vs baith day and nycht.⁴

O haly Lord, we thé beseik,
 This nycht vs to defend and keip;
 Thy rest and peace be with vs all,
 Lat⁶ neuer na euill thing vs befall.

Na heuy sleip, nor deidely sin,⁷
 Lat⁶ not our Ennemeis⁸ vs ouercum,⁸
 Nor zit our flesche gif⁹ na consent:
 Grant vs our faultis for to repent.

Lord, lat our eine sum sleip do¹⁰ tak,
 Our hartis¹¹ all tyme on thé may waik;¹¹
 Thy rycht hand keip vs from all euill
 Thy

¹ So A. B.; They thinke, D.

³ A. B.; promesit, D.

⁵ A. B.; mirknesse, puttes, verie, shynes, D.

⁷ A. B.; Na heiue sleepe, nor deadly sinne, D.

⁹ A.; giue, B. D.

² A. B.; helps, servants, fathers, D.

⁴ A.; licht, nicht, B.; light, night, D.

⁶ A. B.; Let, D.

⁸ A. B.; enemie, ouercome, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; to, D.

¹¹ A. B.; hertes, wake, D.

Thy awin seruand, that luiffis thé¹ weill.

Our defender,² to thé we pray,
All Ire¹ and malice thow put vs fra,
Thy seruandis gouerne in the steid,
For quhais rausoun thow did sair bleid.

Haif³ mynde on vs, thow Lord Jesu,
In this fals warld⁴ that is vntrew,
Thou art defender of our Saule,
Lord heir vs, quhen we on thé call.

Gloir⁵ be to God, Father of mycht,
And to Christ Jesu, his Sone sa brycht;
The haly Gaist,⁷ that is sa fair,
Keip vs this nicht,⁶ and euer mair.⁷

¶ F I N I S.

CHRIST is the onlie Sone⁸ of God,
The Father Eternall:

We haif⁹ in Jesse found the rod,
God and man, naturall.
He is the Morning Star,
His bemis send he hes out⁸ far,
Bezond⁸ vther sternis all.

He was for vs ane man borne,
In the last part of tyme;

¹ So A. B.; luffis thé, C. L.; loues full weill, D.; yre, C. D.

² A. C.; defender, B. D.

⁴ A. B.; false world, D.

⁶ A.; nicht, bricht, B.; might, bright, night, D.

⁸ A. B. C.; Sonne, beyond, out hes, D.

³ A.; Haue, B. D.

⁵ A. B.; gloire, D.

⁷ A. B.; Ghost, more, D.

⁹ A.; haue, B. D.

Zit keipit scho hir madinheid¹ vnforlorne,
 His mother that bure him ; syne
 He hes hellis zettis brokin,²
 And heuin he hes made oppin,²
 Bringand vs lyfe againe.

Thow onlie Maker of all thing,
 Thow euerlastand³ lycht,⁴
 From end to end all rewling,
 Be thy awin godly mycht,⁴
 Turne thow our hartis⁵ vnto thé,
 And lychtin⁴ thame with the veritie,
 That ar far from the rycht.⁴

Lat vs increas in lufe⁶ of thé,
 And in knowlege⁶ also,
 That we, beleuing steidfastlie,
 May in Spreit serue thé so ;
 That we, in hartis,⁶ may sauour
 Thy mercy and thy fauour,
 And traist⁷ efter no mo.

Awaik vs,⁸ Lord, we pray thé,
 The haly Spreit vs geue,⁹
 Quhilk may our auld man¹⁰ mortifie,
 That our new man may leue,
 Sa will we alway¹¹ thank thé,
 That schawis vs sa greit mercy,
 And our sinnis dois forgeue.⁹

❧ F I N I S.

Christ

¹ So A. ; maȳdinheid, B. ; Yet keipit shee her maid-heid, D.

² A. B. C. ; helles zettes broken, made oppen, D. ³ A. B. ; euerlasting, D.

⁴ A. ; licht, lichten, &c., B. ; light, lighten, &c., D. ⁵ A. B. ; hertes, D.

⁶ loue, knowledge, heartes, D. ⁷ So all old editions, but query if for *thrist* ?

⁸ A. ; Awalk, vs, B. ; Awake O Lord, C. D.

⁹ The Holie Ghost us giue, forgeue, D. ¹⁰ A. B. C. ; whilke, old, leiuē, D.

¹¹ A. B. ; alwayes, shawes, D.

CHRIST Jesus is ane A. per C.
 And peirles¹ Prince of all mercy,
 For he fra me my Sin¹ hes tane,
 And is my Sauour allane.

To saue bot he none is, nor sall,
 I out tak nane greit nor small :
 To him is na comparisoun,²
 He is my Sauour allone.

I sall him lufe³ with steidfast hart,³
 And for na cause fra him depart ;
 Bot him to serue I me⁴ dispone,
 As to my Sauour allone.

Sa on his grace I will depend,
 Quhill⁵ Lachesis draw my lyfe till end :⁶
 Syne leif my Saule,⁷ quhen I am gone,
 To Regne⁷ with thrinfald⁷ God in one.

❧ F I N I S.

ALLONE I weip in greit distres,⁸
 We ar exilit remediles,⁸
 And wait nocht quhy,⁹
 Fra Goddis word allace ! allace !
 Uncourteslie.⁹
 Quhair¹⁰ that we suld glaidlie¹⁰ behauld
 Our Sauour, baith zung¹¹ and auld,

¹ So A. B. ; peirlesse, sinnes, D.

² A. B. ; no comparison, D.

³ A. B. ; loue, stedfast hert, D.

⁴ A. B. ; mee I, D.

⁵ A. B. ; Whill, D.

⁶ A. B. ; draw mee to an end, D.

⁷ A. B. ; saull, reigne, threefald, D.

⁸ A. B. ; distresse, remedillesse, D.

⁹ A. B. ; not why, uncourteouslie, D.

¹⁰ A. B. ; Where, glaidlie, D.

¹¹ A. ; zoung, B. D.

Sa plesandlie,
 Now ar we baneist mony fauld,
 Uncourteslie,¹
 Thay may our body fra thé bind,
 Sa can thay not our hartis² and mynde,
 Fixit² on thé;
 Howbeit we be with dolour pynde²
 Maist cruellie.
 O Antichrist, we may thé call,
 From Goddis³ word wald gar us fall
 Thy crueltie:
 Wald baneis³ vs from plesouris³ all,
 Uncourteslie.¹
 Indurit Ignorance hes slaine
 Thy hart,⁴ and put vs to greit paine:
 Quhat remedie?
 Sen we are baneist from Christ allaine,⁴
 Uncourteslie.¹

¶ F I N I S.

THE Lord sayis⁵ I will schaw,⁵
 My will, and eik⁵ my mynde,⁵
 Mark weill my Scripture & my law,
 Quhairin⁶ that thow sall find,
 That with my Faith I mak ane wow,⁷
 And knittis⁸ it with ane knot:
 The treuth⁶ is sa, I lufe⁸ thé now,
 Be war I hait⁸ thé not.

It was

¹ So A. B.; Uncourteouslie, D.

³ A. B.; Gods, beneis, pleasures, D.

⁵ A. B.; sayes, shaw, eike, minde, D.

⁷ A.; vow, B. D.

² A. B.; hertes, fixed, pinde, D.

⁴ A. B.; heart, allone, D.

⁶ A. B.; Wherein, trueth, D.

⁸ A. B.; knittes, loue, hate, D.

It was my Fatheris¹ will,
 That I suld tak the cure,
 For to cum downe in eirth thé¹ till,
 And tak thy vylde² nature.
 To cleith my precius body pure,
 Sa clene from sin³ and spot,
 For lufe³ of thé I mak thé sure :
 Be war I hait thé not.

I fand thé loste⁴ from blis,
 Throuch Adamis sin and pleid ;⁵
 And quha sa euer wrocht⁶ the mis,
 Was nane culd find remeid :
 Quhill⁶ I my self did chose the deide,
 To saif⁷ thé from the pot ;⁵
 I lufe⁶ thé weill serue me in dreide,
 Be war I hait thé not.

For all the greuous sorrowis soir,⁸
 I sufferit and paine,
 To my reward⁹ I ask no moir,⁸
 Bot thy trew lufe againe.
 I am ane husband man but weir
 Quhilk labouris¹⁰ for my lot ;
 I lufe thé weill, I mak thé sure,
 Be war I hait thé not.

My Zock¹¹ is wounder sweet,
 And als my burding lycht :
 All¹² that be with my grace repleit,¹²

¹ So A. B.; Fathers, thee (throughout), D.

² A. D.; vyle, B.

³ A. B.; So cleine from sinne, loue, D.

⁴ A.; loist, B.; lost, D.

⁵ A. B.; pryd, spot, D.

⁶ A. B.; wrought, whill, loue (throughout), D.

⁷ A.; saue, B. D.

⁸ A. B.; griuous sorrowes sore, more, D.

⁹ A. D.; rewaird, B.

¹⁰ A. B.; Whilk labours, D.

¹¹ A. B.; yock, D.

¹² A. B.; And all, repleat, D.

Sall go the way full rycht.¹
 I am the rute of all mercy,
 Quhilk² neuer sall faid² nor rot :
 Sen nane thé luiffit³ sa weill as I,
 Be war I hait thé not.

All ze that sair dois thrist,
 Throuch brukkilnes of the flesche,⁴
 Cum vnto me, quhen that ze list,
 I sall zour saulis refresche.⁵
 Call vpon me, and I sall heir,
 And saif⁶ thé from the schot ;
 I lufe the weill, I coft thé deir,
 Be war I hait⁶ thé not.

Attend and tak gude keip
 To thame that cumis⁷ to thé,
 In to the habite⁷ of ane scheip,⁷
 With subtell Sermonis⁸ slie.
 For doutles thay ar⁹ inwartlie,
 Fals wolfis¹⁰ vnder cot :¹⁰
 Renunce¹⁰ thair Lawis, and cum¹⁰ to me,
 Trewlie I hait thé not.

Na man sall cum to me,
 Except my Father him draw.
 Nor sé my Father in heuin sa hie,
 Bot be me,¹¹ and my Law.
 Quhairfoir,¹² O man, prent¹² in thy mynde
 Thir wordis,¹² and this knot,

And

¹ So A.; richt, B.; right, D.

³ A.; luffit, B.; louned, D.

⁵ A. B.; your saullis refresh, D.

⁷ A. B.; comes, habit, sheepe, D.

⁹ A.; war, B.; were, D.

¹¹ But by mee, D.

² A. B.; Whilk, fade, D.

⁴ A. B.; Throw bruklenesse, flesh, D.

⁶ A. B.; saue, hat, D.

⁸ A. B.; subtile sermons, D.

¹⁰ False wolves, cote, renounce, come, D.

¹² Wherefore, print, wordes, D.

And wirk as my word dois thé bind,
Be war I hait thé not.¹

¶ F I N I S.

GREUOUS² is my sorrow,
Baith² euin and morrow,
Unto my selfe allone;
Thus Christ makis his mone,
Saying, Vnkyndnes hes killit³ me,
And put³ me to this paine:
Allace! quhat remedie,
For I wald nocht⁴ refraine.

My Father was sa mouit,⁵
And with mankynde sa greuit,⁵
Man was sa wylde and nyce,⁶
And rageing in all vyce,
That distroyit⁷ he suld be:
Than for man I tuke paine;
Allace! quhat remedie,
For I wald not refraine.

Than furth with, for his saik,⁸
I did his nature tak,⁸
Within ane Virgin pure,
As schawis my Scripture,
Quhais vnkyndnes dois keill me,
And puttis⁹ me to greit paine;

¹ So A. B.; Be ware I hate thee, D.

² A. B.; Gryuous, both *at*, D.

³ A. B.; Unkindnesse killed mee, puts, D.

⁴ A. B.; would not, D.

⁵ A. B.; Moued, griued, D. ⁶ A.; nyse, B. D.

⁷ A. B.; destroyed.

⁸ A. B.; Then forthwith, sake, take, D.

⁹ A. B.; put, D.

Allace ! quhat remedie,
For I wald nocht ¹ refraine.

Quhen I was bot ² ane chylde,²
With my mother, maist mylde,²
The Jewis ³ did me dispyse,³
And euer mair surmyse,³
With vnkyndnes to keill me,
And put me to greit paine :
Allace ! quhat remedie,
Zit wald I ⁴ nocht refraine.

Thay lykit not ⁵ my leuing,
Praying, fasting, nor repreuing,⁶
For quhen ⁷ that thay did sleip,⁷
Than ⁷ did I sych ⁷ and weip,⁷
That vnkyndnes suld keill me,
And put me to greit paine :
Allace ! quhat remedie,
Zit wald I not ⁵ refraine.

Than at the last thay tuke me,
And all my freindis ⁸ forsuke me,
Bot my deir mother allone,
And my cousing ⁸ Sanct Johne,
Till vnkyndnes had keillit ⁹ me,
And put me to this paine :
Allace ! quhat remedie,
Zit wald I not refraine.

First

¹ So A. B. ; noght, D.

² A. B. ; but, childe, milde, D.

³ A. B. ; Jewes, despise, surmise, D.

⁴ A. ; For I wald, B. D.

⁵ A. D. ; nocht, B.

⁶ A. ; *not* repreuing B. ; *nor* repreueing, D.

⁷ A. B. ; when, then, sleep, sigh, weep, D.

⁸ A. B. ; frends, cousin, D.

⁹ A. ; killit, B. ; killed, D.

First I was betin ¹ lang,
 With scurgis scharp ¹ and strang,
 And as ane fule mockit,
 Euill tocheit ² and rockit,
 Till vnkyndnes suld keill me,
 And put me to that paine :
 Allace ! quhat remedie,
 I thocht not ³ to refraine.

Than ⁴ to ane Croce on hie,
 Thay ⁴ nalit my bodie,
 And syne betwene twa theuis,⁵
 Thay did me mony greuis,⁵
 Till vnkyndnes did keill ⁶ me,
 And put me to greit paine :
 Allace ! quhat remedie,
 I thocht nocht ⁶ to refraine.

And quhan ⁷ I waxit dry,
 And for drink lang did cry,
 My confort ⁷ was bot small,
 To sup the bitter gall,
 With vnkyndnes thay seruit me,
 And put me to greit paine :
 Allace ! quhat remedie,
 Zit wald I nocht ⁸ refraine.

Thus had I neuer rest,
 Bot with panis ⁸ opprest,
 And with ane speir full scharp,⁸

¹ So A. B.; bettin, scourges sharp, D.

³ A.; nocht, B.; thought not, D.

⁵ A.; theifis, greuis, B.; theifis, greifis, D.

⁷ A.; quhen, B.; when, D.; comfort, B. D.

² A.; totcheit, B.; tochtit, D.

⁴ A. B.; Then, They, D.

⁶ A. B.; kill, thocht not, D.

⁸ A. B.; not, paines, sharp, D.

Thay peirsit¹ my tender hart,
 Sa that vnkyndnes killit me,
 And put me to greit paine :
 Allace ! quhat remedie,
 For I wald nocht² refraine.

For this my greit kyndnes,
 Methink, of rycht³ doutles,
 Mannis Saule suld lufe⁴ me best,
 Sen it my deide hes drest ;
 Quhais vnkyndnes hes killit⁵ me,
 And put⁵ me to this paine ;
 Allace ! quhat remedie,
 Zit wald I nocht⁶ refraine.

Geue⁷ ony ane be heir,
 That will by lufe⁷ sa deir,
 Nocht with siluer, nor gold,
 Bot with my blude, beholde
 Thy vnkyndnes, man,⁸ hes slaine me,
 And put me to this paine :
 Behauld this pietious⁹ body,
 Thus moste vnkyndlie slaine.

O man, quhome I creat,¹⁰
 Quhy art thou sa ingrait ?¹⁰
 Seeing how I am spylt,
 All onlie for thy gylt ;
 And with vnkyndnes dois kill⁵ me,
 And put⁵ me to this paine ;

Zit

¹ So A. B.; gryuous, persit, D.

³ A.; richt, B.; right, D.

⁵ A. B.; did keill, puts, D.

⁷ A.; gif, buy, B. D.; luif, D.

⁹ A.; pieteous B.; precious, D.

² A. B.; Zit wald I not, D.

⁴ A. B.; Mans saull suld loue, D.

⁶ I thocht not to, D.

⁸ Omitted in D.

¹⁰ A. B.; whom, why, create, ingrate, D.

Zit all thy vylanie ¹
 Can nocht ² mak me refraine.

Quhat sorrow culd be moir,³
 Than to suffer so soir,³
 Of thame that knew my Lawis,
 And wist I gaue na cause,⁴
 Unkyndlie ⁵ thus to kill ⁶ me,
 And put me to sic ⁶ paine ;
 Allace ! quhat remedie,
 Zit wald I nocht refraine.

Father forgeue Cayphas,⁶
 Pylate, Anna, and Judas,
 Pardoun ⁷ all Jurie,⁸
 That cryit *Crucifige*,
 Thocht vnkyndlie thay ⁹ slew me,
 And put me to this paine :
 Zit thair was na remedie,
 For I will ¹⁰ nocht refraine.

My Saule in thy handis fré,
 My ¹¹ last will sall be,
 O Father I commit,
 Into thy handis my Spreit,¹²
 Thocht vnkyndlie ⁵ I die,
 And am put to greit paine :
 Zit for mannis remedie,
 I sall ryse up againe.

¹ So A. B.; villanie, D.

² A. B.; noght, and so onwards.

³ A. B.; more, sore, D.

⁴ A.; caus, B. D.

⁵ A.; Unkyndely, B.; Unkindly, D.

⁶ A. B.; keill, that, Caiaphus, D.

⁷ A.; Pardone, B.; Pardon, D.

⁸ A. B.; Jewrie, D.

⁹ A. B.; ze, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; wald, D.

¹¹ A. B.; For my, D.

¹² A. B.; sprit, D.

I leif in ¹ Testament
 My body in Sacrament,
 For mannis Saule ² to support,
 And be his cheif confort, ³
 Thocht man vnkyndlie ⁴ haif ⁵ left me,
 And slew me with greit paine :
 Thair is na remedie,
 My hart will nocht refraine.

Go, hart, ⁶ I thé bequyeth ⁶
 To hir that was my deith,
 Mannis Saule is scho ⁷ trewlie,
 My hart hir hart sall be,
 Thocht scho ⁷ maist vnkyndlie ⁴ slew me,
 And put me to greit paine :
 Zit thair is na remedie,
 My hart ⁸ will nocht refraine.

The laudis ⁹ of the Lord, trewlie,
 Ze may sing merilie, ¹⁰
 For all our saulis helth, ¹¹
 In euerlastand ¹² welth,
 Thocht vnkyndlie ze slew my bodie,
 And did put me to paine :
 Ze may persaeue daylie,
 My lufe dois nocht refraine.

My Tumbe ¹³ is fresche ¹⁴ and new,
 In sauing I was trew,
 To put mankynde fra dout,

Thair

¹ So A.; leue in, B.; leif *my*, D. ² A.; saull, B. D. ³ A.; comfort, B. D.

⁴ A.; unkyndely, B.; unkindly, D. ⁵ A.; haue, B. D.

⁶ A. B.; hert, bequeith, D. ⁷ A. B.; sho, D. ⁸ A. B.; hert, D.

⁹ A.; laudes, B.; lauds, D. ¹⁰ A. D.; mirrylie, B.

¹¹ A. D.; health, wealth, B. ¹² A.; euerlasting, B. D.

¹³ A. B.; tombe, D. ¹⁴ A.; freshe, B.; fresh, D.

Thair¹ sall be writtin¹ about,
 The Jewis² King heir dois ly,
 Quhome³ vnkyndnes hes slaine :
 And socht na remedie,
 For he wald nocht refraine.

O Father Imperiall,
 I pray thé in speciall,
 My deith mannis Saule forgeue,⁴
 In heuin with me to leue,⁴
 Thoht⁵ vnkyndlie⁶ scho keillit⁷ me,
 I wald scho had na paine :
 For I had leuer⁸ die,
 For hir saik anis againe.

¶ *Ane gentill admonitioun of Christ.*

 All peple,⁹ leirne of me
 Gentilnes and pietie,¹⁰
 Remember my soir¹¹ bodie,
 Sa woundit and bludie,
 Keill¹² na man vnkyndlie¹³
 With sclander, nor with paine :
 Amend your faultis daylie,
 And from all vice refraine.

¶ F I N I S.

¹ So A.; written, B. D. ² A. B.; Jewes, D.

⁴ A.; saull forgiue, liue, B. D.

⁶ A.; vnkyndely, B.; vnkindlie, D.

⁸ A. D.; rather, B.

¹⁰ A. B.; piety, D.

¹² A. D.; kill, B.

³ A. B.; whom, soght, D.

⁵ A. B.; Thoght, D.

⁷ A. D.; killit, B.

⁹ A.; pepill, B. D.

¹¹ A.; sober, B. D.

¹³ A.; vnkindelie, B.; vnkindly, D.

I OHNE, cum kis me now,
 Johne, cum kis me now,
 Johne, cum kis me by and by,
 And mak¹ no moir¹ adow.

The Lord, thy God, I am,
 That Johne dois thé call,
 Johne representit² man
 Be grace celestiall ;

For Johne Goddis grace it is,
 (Quha list till expone the same) ;
 Och, Johne, thow³ did amis,
 Quhen that thow loste⁴ this name.

Heuin, and eirth of nocht,⁵
 I maid⁶ thame for thy saik,⁶
 For euer moir I thocht,⁵
 To my lyknes⁷ thé mak,⁶

In Paradice I plantit⁸ thé,
 And maid⁹ thé Lord of all
 My creatures, not forbidding thé
 Nathing, bot ane of all.

Thus wald thow not obey,
 Nor zit follow to¹⁰ my will,
 Bot did cast thy self away,
 And thy posteritie spill.

My Justice condampnit¹¹ thé
 To euerlasting paine,
 Man culd find na remedie,
 To by¹² man fré againe.

Of pure lufe¹³ & meir mercy,
 Myne awin Sone¹⁴ downe I send ;
 God

¹ So A. B. ; make, more, D.

³ A. B. ; Oh ! John thou, D.

⁵ A. B. ; noght, thocht, D.

⁷ A. ; lykenes, B. ; likenes, D.

⁹ A. ; made, B. D.

¹¹ A. ; condempnit, B. ; condemned, D.

¹³ A. ; O pure lyfe, B. ; life, D.

² A. B. ; represents, D.

⁴ A. ; loist, B. ; lost, D.

⁶ A. B. ; made, sake, make, D.

⁸ A. B. ; planted, D.

¹⁰ A. B. ; *to* omitted, D.

¹² A. ; buy, B. D.

¹⁴ A. B. ; Sonne, D.

God become man for thé,
For thy sin his lyfe did spend.

Thy attenment¹ and peace to mak,
He sched² his blude maist halie,
Suffering deith² for thy saik,
Quhat³ culd he do moir³ for thé?

It plesit Christ without desart,
For his Ennemie⁴ to die,
Suffering a speir to peirs⁵ his hart,
The cause was thy folie.⁵

Beleue this, repent thy sin,
His deith haif⁶ euer in mynde,
Remissioun of sin lvis⁷ onlie⁷ thairin,
To thy Lord be neuer vnkynde.

Quhen he ascendit, left him⁸ behind
His word to reid and heir,
Quhen Antichrist wald thé blind,
That thow suld geue⁹ him na eir.

Bot quhen Sathan was lousit¹⁰ out of hell,
And had set man in my place,
All, that he did, thow thocht it weill,
At him thow socht¹¹ for grace,

Na thing regarding, how of me
All thing had thair creatioun,
Nor zit quhat Christ sufferit¹² for thé,
To redeme the from dampnatioun.¹²

Bot the abhominatioun of desolatioun
Thow settis¹³ in the haly place,
Be Antichristis¹³ fals persuatioun,¹⁴
My Sonnis passioun to deface,

¹ So A.; attonement, B. D.

² A. B.; shed, death, D.

³ A. B.; What, more, D. ⁴ A.; ennemie, B. D.

⁵ A. B.; pierce, folly, D.

⁶ A. B.; haue, B. D.

⁷ A. B.; lyes only, D.

⁸ A. B.; he left, *omitting him*, D.

⁹ A.; giue, B. D.

¹⁰ A.; lowsit, B. D.

¹¹ A. B.; thoght, soght, D.

¹² A. B.; suffered, damnatioun, &c., D.

¹³ A. B.; sets, Antichrists, D.

¹⁴ A.; perswasioun, B.; perswasion, D.

Quhairfoir¹ my Justice mouit me,
 My word fra thé restraine,
 And to thy lust to geue² vp thé,
 To traist in thingis¹ vaine.

In mannis warkis than did thow³ traist,⁴
 Seiking helth,⁵ thow wist not quhair,
 At thy deith⁶ thow did mistraist,⁴
 And sa fell in dispair.⁶

Quhen I did draw ony to me,
 My Gospell to profes,⁷
 Thow did thame slay rycht cruellie,
 Thinkand to do me seruice.

Thy seruice sall rewardit be,
 With euerlasting paine,
 And all that hait my word and me,
 Except they do abstaine.⁸

Thus quhen thow was in dangerous case,⁹
 Reddie¹⁰ to sink in hell,
 Of my mercy and speciall grace,
 I send thé my Gospell.

My Prophetis¹¹ call, my Preichouris¹¹ cry,
 Johne cum kis¹² me now,
 Johne cum kis¹² me by and by,
 And mak no moir adow.

Ane Spreit I am incorporate,
 Na mortal E¹³ can me sé,
 Zit my word dois intimate,
 Johne, how thow moste kis¹⁴ me.

Repent thy sin vnfenzeitlie,¹⁵
 Beleue my promeis in Christis deith,
 This

¹ So A. B.; Wherefore, things, D.

³ A. B.; mans warkes then *thou did*, D.

⁵ A. B.; Seeking health, D.

⁷ A. B.; professe, D.

¹⁰ A.; Reddy, B.; Readie, D.

¹² A. B.; kisse, D.

¹⁴ A.; must kis, B.; must kisse, D.

² A.; giue, B. D.

⁴ A. B.; trust, mistrust, D.

⁶ A. B.; death, dispare, D.

⁸ A.; abstene, B.; absteine, D. ⁹ A. B.; cace, D.

¹¹ A. B.; prophites, preachers, D.

¹³ A.; eye, B. D.

¹⁵ A. B.; sinne unfeinzeitlie, D.

This kis¹ of Faith will Justifie thé,
(As my Scripture plainely¹ saith.)

Mak na² delay, cum² by and by,
Quhen³ that I do thé call,
Lest deith do stryke³ thé suddantlie,⁴
And sa cum nocht³ at all.

Gif thow cum not quhill⁵ thow hes space,
Bot my Gospell dois contempne :⁵
I will tak from thé my grace,
And my word will thé condampne.⁶

Of all that cum I will none reiect,⁷
Na creature, greit, nor small ;
For Christis saik,⁸ I will thame accept,
And geue⁹ thame lyfe Eternall.

❧ F I N I S.

❧ *In te Domine Speravi.* Psal. xxxj.

L ORD lat¹⁰ me neuer be confoundit,¹¹
That fermlye dois¹² confide in thé,
Bot lat¹⁰ thy Justice ay be groundit¹¹
With mercy to deliuer¹³ me.

Incline thyne¹⁴ reuthfull eiris,¹⁵ in tyme,
To me, that am in miserie,
And from all sort of sin, and cryme,
Thow, blissit¹⁶ Lord, deliuer me.

¹ So A. B. ; kisse, plainlie, D.

³ A. B. ; When, strike, not, D.

⁵ A. B. ; whill, contempne, D.

⁶ A. ; condempne, B. ; And by my word thee contende, D.

⁷ A. ; reject, B. ; nane reject, D. ⁸ A. B. ; Christes sake, D. ⁹ A. ; giue, B. D.

¹⁰ A. ; let, B. D.

¹¹ A. B. ; confounded, grounded, D.

¹² A. ; firmlye do, B. ; firmlye does, D. ¹³ A. D. ; delyuer, B.

¹⁴ A. ; thine, B. ; thy, D.

¹⁵ A. B. ; ears, D.

¹⁶ A. B. ; blessed, D.

Be my defendand,¹ God of Grace,
 My gyde, my gournour, all thré;²
 And in thy heuinlie dwelling place,
 Of all refuge thow succour me.

For sen thow art my strenth, and force,
 My hope, support, and haill supplie;
 Be thy sweit name, and deid on Croce,
 Thow sall vpbring, and nourische³ me.

Thow sall me gyde from gyrne, and snair,⁴
 And hyde in secret, quhair nane may sé,⁵
 For thow art keipar⁶ lait and air,
 Protectour and defence⁶ of me.

My Spreit I rander in thy handis,⁷
 Eternal God of veritie,
 Quhilk hes from bailfull Baliallis bandis⁷
 Redemit⁸ and deliuerit⁹ me.

¶ F I N I S.

GO, hart,¹⁰ vnto the lampe of lycht,¹¹
 Go, hart, do service and honour,
 Go, hart, and serue him day and nycht,¹¹
 Go, hart, vnto thy Sauour.

Go, hart, to thy onlie¹² remeid
 Descending from the heuinlie tour:¹³

The

¹ So A.; defendar, B.; defender, D.

² A. B.; three, D.

³ A.; nourishe, B.; nourish, D.

⁴ A. B.; gyd from girn and snare, D.

⁵ A. B.; see, keeper, D. ⁶ A. D.; defendar, B. ⁷ A. B.; handes, bands, D.

⁸ A. B.; Redeemed, D.

⁹ A.; delyuerit, B.; deliuered, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; heart, and so throughout, D. ¹¹ A.; licht, nicht, B.; light, night, D.

¹² A.; only, B.; onely, D.

¹³ A. B.; heauenly toure, D.

Thé to deliuer¹ from pyne, and deide,
Go, hart, vnto thy Sauour.

Go, hart, but dissimulatioun,
To Christ, that tuke our vylde² nature,
For thé to suffer passioun,
Go, hart, vnto thy Sauour.

Go, hart, ryght³ humill and meik,⁴
Go, hart, as leill and trew seruiture,⁵
To him that heill is for all seik,⁶
Go, hart, vnto thy Sauour.

Go, hart, with trew and haill intent,
To Christ thy help and haill succour,
Thé to redeme he⁷ was all rent,
Go, hart, vnto thy Sauour.

To Christ, that rais from deith⁸ to liue,⁹
Go, hart, vnto my latter hour,
Quhais greit mercy can nane discriue,⁹
Go, hart, vnto thy Sauour.

¶ F I N I S.

OUR brother lat¹⁰ vs put in graue,
And na dout thairof¹¹ lat¹⁰ us haue,
Bot he sall ryse on Domisday,¹²
And haue Immortall lyfe for ay.

¹ So A. D.; delyuir, B. ² A.; vyle, B.; vile, D. ³ A.; richt, B.; right, D.

⁴ A.; humbill and meik, B.; humbill and *full* meike, D. ⁵ A.; seruitour, B. D.

⁶ A. B.; hailth is for all flesh, D. ⁷ A. B.; Thee to redeeme hee, D.

⁸ A. B.; rose from dead, D. ⁹ A.; lyue, discryue, B. D. ¹⁰ A.; let, B. D.

¹¹ A. B.; thereof, D. ¹² A. B.; rise on domise-day, D.

He is of eird,¹ and of eird¹ maid,
 And man² returne to eird,¹ throw deide,³
 Syne ryse sall fra the eird¹ and ground,
 Quhen that the last trumpet sall sound.

The Saule⁴ Regnis⁵ with God in gloir,⁶
 And he sall suffer paine no moir,⁶
 For cause his Faith was constantlie
 In Christis⁶ blude allanerlie.

His painfull pilgramage⁷ is past,
 And till ane end cumit⁸ at the last,
 Dieand⁸ in Christis 3ock full sweit,
 Bot 3it is leuand in his Spreit.

The Saule⁴ leuis with God, I say,
 The bodie sleipis, quhill Domisday;⁹
 Than Christ sall bring thame baith to gloir,⁶
 To Regne¹⁰ with him, for euer moir.⁶

In eird¹ he hes¹⁰ vexatioun,
 Bot now he hes Saluatioun,
 Regnand¹¹ in gloir⁶ and blis,¹² but weir,
 And schynis as the Sone¹² sa cleir.

Ze faithfull, thairfoir,¹³ lat him sleip,
 And nocht,¹³ lyke Hethin, for him weip,
 Bot deiply prent in to zour breist,
 That deide to vs approachis¹³ neist.

Quhen

¹ So A. B.; earth, D.

² A. D.; mon, B.

³ A. B.; D. has *again* for *throw deide*.

⁴ A.; saull, B. D.

⁵ A. B.; reignes, D.

⁶ A. B.; glorie, more, Christes, D.

⁷ A. B.; pilgrimage, D.

⁸ A.; cumin, Deand, B.; cummit, Deiand, D.

⁹ A. B.; whill domese-day, D.

¹⁰ A.; ring, B.; reigne, D.; A.; hed, B.; had, D.

¹¹ A.; Ringand, B.; Reignand, D.

¹² A. B.; blisse, sunne, D.

¹³ A. B.; therefore, not, approaches, D.

Quhen cumin¹ is our hour and tyme,
 Than we man² turnit be in slyme,
 And thair³ is nane vther defence,
 Bot die in hope with pacience.³

Thocht⁴ pest, or sword wald vs preuene,
 Befoir⁴ our hour, to slay vs clene,⁴
 Thay can nocht⁴ pluk⁵ ane lytill hair,
 Furth⁶ of our heid, nor do vs deir.⁶

Quhen⁷ fra this warld to Christ we wend,
 Our wratchit⁸ schort⁷ lyfe, man² haif end⁷
 Changeit⁹ fra paine, and miserie,
 To lestand⁹ gloir Eternallie.

End¹⁰ sall our dayis¹⁰ schort, and vaine,
 And sin, quhilk¹⁰ we culd nocht¹⁰ refraine,
 Endit salbe our pilgremage,¹¹
 And brocht¹⁰ hame to our heritage.

Christ, for thy mycht¹² and celsitude,
 That for our Sinnis¹³ sched thy blude,
 Grant vs in Faith to leue¹³ and die,
 And syne ressaue¹³ our Saulis¹³ to thé.

❧ F I N I S.

M USING greitlie in my mynde,
 The folie that is in mankynde,
 Quhilk¹⁴ is sa¹⁴ brukill and sa blind,

¹ So A.; cummin, B.; cumming, D.

² A.; mon, B.; must, D.

³ A. B.; there, patience, D.

⁴ A. B.; Though, before, cleine, nought, D.

⁵ A.; pluke, B. D. ⁶ A. B.; Out, deare, D.

⁷ A. B.; When, short, a end, D.

⁸ A.; wretchit, B.; wretched, D.

⁹ A. B.; changit, lastand, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; Then, dayes, whilk, noght, brought, D.

¹¹ A.; pilgramage, B.; pilgrimage, D.

¹² A.; nicht, B.; might, D.

¹³ A. B.; sinnes, liue, receiue, saules, D.

¹⁴ A. B.; whilk, so, D.

And downe sall cum,¹ downe ay, downe ay.

Leuand maist pairt² in all vice,
Nouthar sa gracious,³ nor sa wyse,
As out of wratchitnes⁴ to ryse,
Bot downe to cum, downe ay, downe ay.

And all this warld to weild thow had,
Thy body perfite⁴ and properlie maid,⁵
Zit man, as flowre,⁶ thow sall faid,⁵
And downe thow sall cum, downe ay,

Thocht⁷ thow war euer Eternall,
As man that neuer suld haue ane fall,
Zit doutles⁷ die thow sall,
And downe sall⁷ cum, downe ay, downe ay.

Thocht thow war⁸ man neuer sa thrall,⁸
Remember zit, that die thow sall,
Quha hiest clymmis gettis⁹ greitest fall,
And downe sall cum, downe ay, downe ay.

Thocht thow war⁸ neuer of sa greit degré,¹⁰
In ryches, nor¹¹ in dignitie,
Remember, man, that thow man¹² die,
And downe sall cum, downe ay, downe ay.

Thair is na King nor Empreour¹³
[Du]ke nor Lord of greit valure,¹³
[Bot h]e sall faid as lely floure,¹³

And

¹ So A. B.; come throughout, D.

² A. B.; Leiuand most part, D.

³ A. B.; so gracious, D.

⁴ A.; wretchitnes, B.; wretchednesse, D.; A. D.; perfite, B.

⁵ A. B.; made, fade, D.

⁶ A.; floure, B.; flour, D.

⁷ A. B.; Though, doutlesse, thou sall, D.

⁸ A. B.; Though thou were, in thrall, D.

⁹ A. B.; climmes gets, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; so greit degree, D.

¹¹ A. B.; or, D.

¹² A.; mon, B.; must, D.

¹³ A. B.; emperour, valour, flour, D.

And downe sall cum, downe ay, downe ay.

Quhair ¹ is Adam and Eue his wife,¹
 And Hercules, with his lang stryfe,¹
 And Matusalem,² with his lang lyfe? ¹
 They all ar cum downe ay, downe ay.

¶ F I N I S.

PRAY God for grace, my lufe maist dear,³
 Quhilk bocht vs ⁴ with his precius ⁵ blude,
 That we him lufe ⁶ with hart ⁶ inteir,
 In welth ⁶ and want, be land and flude.

Ask and haif,⁷ (sayis the Lord),
 Als geue, and geuin ⁸ sall be to zow :
 Quhat sweitar ⁷ thing may ⁹ we record,
 Nor thy word, Christ, firmelie to trow? ⁹

Traist we alswa, baith air and lait,
 With faithfull hope and esperance,
 We sall ressaue,¹⁰ efter our estait,¹⁰
 All Just desyre, but discripance.¹⁰

Thairfor,¹¹ I think, we suld reioyis,¹¹
 And now greit myrthis mak ¹² from the splene,¹²
 Sen we are chosin ¹³ to reiois ¹³
 In faith of Christ, and lyfe serene.

Christ,¹⁴ our onlie succour in distres,

¹ So A. B. ; Where, wife, strife, life, D.

³ A. B. ; loue most deare, D.

⁵ A. ; precious, B. D.

⁷ A. ; haue, sweiter, B. D.

⁹ A. B. ; can, firmly to true, D.

¹¹ A. B. ; Therefore, rejoyce, D.

¹³ A. B. ; chosen, ripose, D.

² A. B. ; Methusalem, D.

⁴ A. B. ; Whilk bought, D.

⁶ A. B. ; loue, heart, wealth, D.

⁸ A. B. ; giue, giuen, D.

¹⁰ A. B. ; receiue, stait, discrepance, D.

¹² A. B. ; mirth make, spleene, D.

¹⁴ A. B. ; Christ *is*, D.

In till his grace quha dois confide,
 His grace till him will ay increse,¹
 Quhen warldlie¹ traist will fail at neid.

❧ F I N I S.

DOWNE be zone² Riuer I ran,
 Downe be zone² Riuer I ran,
 Thinkand on Christ sa fré,³
 That brocht⁴ me to libertie,
 And I ane sinful man.

Quha suld be my lufe⁵ bot he,
 That hes onlie sauit⁵ me,
 And be his deith⁵ me wan :
 On the Croce sa cruellie,⁶
 He sched⁶ his blude aboundantlie,⁶
 And all for the lufe⁷ of man.

How suld we thank that Lord,
 That was sa misericord,
 Be quhome⁸ all grace began !
 With cruell paine and smart,
 He was peirsit⁹ throw the hart,⁹
 And all for the lufe⁷ of man.

That gaif¹⁰ him in the Jewis handis,¹⁰
 To brek¹¹ bailfull Bialialis bandis,¹¹
 First quhen¹ he began :

Thair

¹ So A. B.; increse, When warldly, D.

² A. B.; by yond, D.

³ A. B.; sweit, D. ⁴ A. B.; broght, D. ⁵ A. B.; loue, onely saued, death, D.

⁶ A. B.; so cruelly, shed, abundantly, D.

⁷ A. B.; loue, D.

⁸ A. B.; By whom, D.

⁹ A. B.; persit, heart, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; gaue, Jewes handes, D.

¹¹ A. B.; breik, Bialiales bandes, D.

Thair¹ gaif² him self to die,
 To mak¹ us Catiues fré,¹
 Remember, Sinfull man.

Thay spittit³ in his face,
 All for our lufe,³ allace !
 That Lord he sufferit³ than,
 The cruel panis³ of deid,
 Quhilk was our haill remeid,
 Remember, Sinfull man.

Loue we that Lord allone,
 Quhilk deit on the throne,
 Our Sinnis⁴ to refraine :
 Pryse⁵ him with all our mycht,⁴
 Sing till him day and nycht,⁴
 The gloir of God and man.

Do all that thow⁶ art abill,
 Zit thow art unprofitabill,
 Do all that thow⁶ can :
 Except thow⁶ weschin⁷ be,
 With Christis blude allanerlie,
 Thow art condampnit⁷ Man.

And sa I mak⁸ ane end,
 Christ grant vs all to kend,
 And steidfast⁸ to remaine :
 Into Christis Passioun,⁹
 Our onlie Saluatioun,⁹

¹ So A. B. ; There, make, free, D.

² A. ; gaue, B. D.

³ A. B. ; spitted, loue, suffered, pains, D.

⁴ A. B. ; sinnes, might, night, D.

⁵ A. ; Prayse, B. ; Praise, D.

⁶ A. B. ; thou, D.

⁷ A. B. ; washen, condemned, D.

⁸ A. B. ; make, stedfast, D.

⁹ A. B. ; passion, saluation, D.

And in nane vther man.

❧ F I N I S.

WITH heuie hart¹ full of distres,
Lamenting my greit sinfulness,
To thé, O Lord, quha may me cure,
Haif² reuth on me thy Creature.

The seiknes³ that is in my flesche,⁴
Thow may it,⁵ Lord, allone depesche,⁴
And purge it clene⁶ and mak it pure :
And saif⁷ me thy Creature.

For in this seiknes I was borne,
And my Fairbearis⁸ me beforne,
Our seiknes on thy back thow bure,
To saif⁷ me, Lord, thy Creature.

This seiknes, Lord, it is the Sin,
That I was borne and gottin in,
Proceeding⁹ of my vylde¹⁰ nature,
Zit saif¹¹ me sinfull Creature.

Thow may me saif,¹¹ thow may me spill,
Baith lyfe and deide, lyeis¹² in thy will,
Thow art the Chirurgiane¹³ sure,
That haillis¹³ all eirdlie Creature.

Lord thair¹⁴ is na Saluatioun¹⁴

Bot

¹ So A. B. ; hert, D. ² A. ; Haue, B. ; Haue reuth, D. ³ A. B. ; sicknes, D.

⁴ A. B. ; flesh, dispesh, D. ⁵ A. B. ; O for it, D. ⁶ A. B. ; clein, D.

⁷ A. ; saue, B. D. ⁸ A. B. ; forbearars, D. ⁹ A. B. ; Proceeding, D.

¹⁰ A. D. ; vyle, B. ¹¹ A. D. ; saue, B. ¹² A. B. ; lyes, D.

¹³ A. B. ; chirurgian, haile, D. ¹⁴ A. B. ; there, saluation, D.

Bot in thy blissit Passioun,¹
 As witnes beiris the trew Scripture,
 Thou saifis all eirdlie Creature.

And for the same to mak remeid,
 Thou susseit nocht² to suffer deid,
 And mekle³ mair thow did indure,
 To saif⁴ thy sinfull Creature.

To thé O Lord, thairfoir⁵ I call,
 For thy remeid, and euer sall,
 Quhill I be laid in Sepulture,
 To saif⁴ thy sinfull Creature.

For all the⁶ trubill and the paine,
 I neuer wrocht⁶ sa gude againe ;
 Bot was vnthankfull seruiture,
 Haif⁷ reuth on me thy Creature.

Swa onlie thow, gude Lord of peace,
 I me submit in to thy⁸ grace,
 For⁹ of my seiknes, thow may me cure,
 And saif⁴ thy Sinfull Creature.

❧ F I N I S.

WELCUM,¹⁰ Lord, Christ, welcum¹⁰ againe,
 My joy, my confort,¹¹ and my bliss,
 That culd me saif⁴ from hellis paine,

¹ A. B.; passion, D.

³ A.; mekill, B. D.

⁵ A. B.; therefore, D.

⁷ A.; Haue, B. D.

⁹ A. B.; D. substitutes *me* instead of *for*, and omits it before *cure*.

¹⁰ A. B.; Welcome, D.

² A. B.; Thou refusit nocht, D.

⁴ A.; Thow saifis all, B.; To saif *me*, D.

⁶ A. B.; thy, wrought, D.

⁸ A. B.; vnto, D.

¹¹ A.; comfort, B. D.

Bot onlie thow nane was, nor is.

Thairfoir,¹ I may rycht bauldlie² say,
Geue¹ Christ, the quhilk hes me redrest,
Be on my syde,¹ quhilk hes done pay
My Ransoun, quha can me molest?

Sen Christ now hes maid me at one³
With God the Father, and did die
To mak me Just, to gloir is gone,
Than quhat ar thay can condampne⁴ me?

Was neuer nane to me mair kynde⁵
Nor Christ; thairfoir¹ I will him pryse,⁵
Onlie with Saule, body,⁶ and mynde;⁵
My hope and traist haill in him lyis.⁵

Bot that quhilk Scripture hes exprest,
Ane Sacrifice Christ anis, thairfoir,¹
Offerit to God, quhilk smellit⁷ best,
For my trespas, I seik no moir.⁷

My pairt⁸ is than from Sin to ceis,
And cleif⁹ to Christ, quhilk hes supprest
Sin, deith, and hell, and maid my peace,
Throw Faith in him that I mycht rest.

❧ F I N I S.

O Christ

¹ A. B.; Therefore, gif, side, D.

³ A. B.; ane, D.

⁵ A. B.; kinde, praise, minde, lyes, D.

⁷ A. B.; smelled, seek more, D.

⁹ A. B.; cleue, D.

² So A.; baldly, B. D.

⁴ A. B.; condemne, D.

⁶ A. B.; saull, bodie, D.

⁸ A.; part, B.; hast, D.

O CHRIST, quhilk art the lycht¹ of day,
 The clude of nycht¹ thow dryuis² away,
 The beame of gloir¹ beleuit rycht,¹
 Schawand till vs thy perfite lycht.

This is na nycht as naturall,
 Nor zit na clude materiall,
 That thow expellis,³ (as I heir say),
 O Christ, quhilk art the lycht of day.

This nycht¹ I call Idolatrie,
 The clude ouerspred,⁴ Hypocresie,⁵
 Send from the Prince of all vnrycht,⁶
 O Christ, for till obscure thy lycht.¹

Quhilk twa hes had dominioun,⁷
 Lang ledand⁸ to distructioun⁷
 The maist part of this warld, astray
 Fra Christ, quhilk is the lycht of day.

Turnand till Goddis infinite,
 Puttand thair hope and thair delyte
 In warkis, inuentit⁹ with the slycht¹⁰
 Of Sathan, contrair to thy lycht.

Sum makis¹¹ Goddis of stock and staine,
 Sum makis¹¹ God¹² of Sanctis¹¹ baine,
 Quhilk, war thay leuand heir, wald say,
 Idolateris,¹³ do way, do way.

¹ So A.; licht, nicht, richt, B.; light, night, glore, right, D.; and so throughout.

² A.; driuis, B.; driues, D. ³ A. B.; expels, D. ⁴ A. D.; ouirspred, B.

⁵ A.; Hypocresie, B.; Hipocresie, D.

⁶ A.; vnricht, B.; vnright, D.

⁷ A. B.; dominion, destruction, D.

⁸ A. D.; leidand, B.

⁹ A. B.; inuented, D.

¹⁰ A.; slicht, B.; slight, D.

¹¹ A. B.; makes, saints, D.

¹² A.; Goddis, B. D.

¹³ A. B.; Idolatrie, D.

To vs gif¹ nouthir laud, nor gloir,¹
 O fulis, gif ze speir quhairfoir,
 We had na thing, throw our awin mycht,²
 Bot all we had throw Christ our lycht.

To that exempill sall be Paull
 At Listra, quha refusit³ all
 Maner of gloir, and this did say,
 Geue¹ gloir to Christ, the lycht² of day,

Geue¹ nane to vs, we are bot men,
 Mortall, as ze zour selfis may ken,
 O fulis, quhairfoir tak⁴ ze flycht,
 Rinnand fra Christ the perfite lycht?

Sum makis God⁵ of Freiris Caip,
 Thay Monstouris⁶ mot in gallous gaip,
 For thay haif led vs lang astray
 Fra Christ, quhilk is the lycht of day.

Sum mumlit Aueis, sum craknit⁷ Creidis,
 Sum makis Goddis of thair beidis,
 Quhilk wat nocht⁸ quhat thay sing nor say,
 Allace! this is ane wrangous way.

❧ F I N I S.

W^{ITH} huntis vp, with huntis vp,
 It is now perfite day,

¹ So A. B. ; giue, gloire, D.

³ A. D. ; rufusit, B.

⁵ A. ; makis goddis, B. ; makes goddis, D.

⁷ A. ; crakit, B. ; raknit, D.

² A. ; nicht, licht, B. ; might, light, D.

⁴ A. B. ; take, D.

⁶ A. B. ; monstours, D.

⁸ A. ; wait, B. ; wot not, D.

Jesus, our King, is gaine¹ in hunting,
 Quha lykis to speid thay may.

Ane cursit Fox lay hid in Rox,
 This lang and mony ane day,
 Deuoring² scheip,³ quhill he mycht⁴ creip,³
 Nane mycht⁴ him schaip³ away.

It did him gude to laip the blude
 Of zung⁵ and tender lambis,⁶
 Nane culd he mis, for all was his,
 The zung⁵ anis with thair dammis.⁷

The hunter is Christ, that huntis⁸ in haist,
 The hundis⁸ ar Peter and Paull,
 The Paip is the Fox, Rome is the Rox,
 That rubbis vs on the gall.

That creull beist, he neuer ceist,
 Be his vsurpit power,
 Under dispens, to get our penneis,⁹
 Our Saulis to deuoir.⁹

Quha culd deuise¹⁰ sic merchandis,¹¹
 As he had thair to sell,
 Onles it war proude Lucifer,
 The greit maister¹² of hell.

He had to sell the Tantonie bell,
 And Pardonis thairin was,

¹ So A.; gane, B. D.

² A. B.; sheep, creep, shape, D.

⁵ A.; zoung, B. D.

⁸ A. B.; hunts, hunds, D.

¹⁰ A. D.; deuyse, B.

⁶ A.; lammis, B. D.

¹¹ A.; merchandise, B. D.

² A.; Deuouring, B. D.

⁴ A.; nicht, B.; might, D.

⁷ A. B.; dammes, D.

⁹ A. B.; pence, deuoure, D.

¹² A. B.; master, D.

Remissioun of sinnis,¹ in auld scheip¹ skinnis,
Our Saulis¹ to bring from grace.

With bullis² of leid, quhyte² wax and reid,
And vther quhylis² with grene,²
Closit in ane box, this vsit the Fox,
Sic peltrie was neuer sene.

With dispensationis³ and obligationis,³
According to his Law,
He wald dispence, for money from hence,
With thame he neuer saw.

To curs and ban the sempill pure⁴ man,
That had nocht⁴ to flé the paine,
Bot quhen he had payit⁵ all to ane myit,⁶
He mon be absolut⁷ than.

To sum, God wot, he gaif tot quot,
And vther sum pluralitie,⁸
Bot first with penneis,⁸ he mon dispens,⁸
Or ellis it will nocht be.

Kingis to marie,⁹ and sum to tarie,
Sic is his power and mycht,¹⁰
Quha¹¹ that hes gold, with him will he hold,
Thocht¹¹ it be contrair all rycht.¹⁰

O blissit Peter, the Fox is ane lier,
Thow knawis weill it is nocht sa,

Quhill

¹ A. B.; sins, sheep, sauls, D.

² A. B.; buls, white, whiles, greene, D.

³ A.; dispensatiounis, obligatiounis, B.; dispensations, obligations, D.

⁴ A. B.; poore, noght, D.

⁵ A. B.; payed, D.

⁶ A.; myte, B. D.

⁷ A.; obsoluit, B.; absolued, D.

⁸ A. B.; plurality, pence, dispence, D.

⁹ A. B.; Kings to mary, D.

¹⁰ A.; micht, richt, B.; might, to all right, D.

¹¹ A. B.; Wha, Thoght, D.

Quhill at the last, he salbe downe cast,
His peltrie, Pardonis,¹ and all.

❧ F I N I S.

BANEIST is Faith now euerie quhair,
And sair forthinkis¹ me,
Baneist is Faith now euerie quhair
Be the schauin¹ sort, I zow declair,
Allace ! thairfoir¹ my hart is sair,
And blyith² I can nocht² be.

Quhair we war wount² to go rycht² glaid,
Furth of captiuitie,²
Quhair we war wount to go rycht glaid,
Now haif³ thay vs with chargis ouer laid,³
Quhilk² bene sa dampnabill,⁴ and sa sad,
That blyith we can not³ be.

Thay keip⁴ the key from vs, allace !⁴
Quhairby⁴ enter suld we,
Thay keip⁴ the key from vs, allace !⁴
And puttis⁴ vs downe all mercyles,
We ar ouerthrawin in euerie place,
That blyith² we can not³ be.

Ryse⁵ vp, I pray thé⁵ now, sweit⁵ Lord,
And from thair crueltye,
Ryse⁵ vp, I pray thé⁵ now, sweit⁵ Lord,

¹ So A. B.; pardons, forthinkes, euery shauin, therefore, D.

² A. B.; blyth, noght, were wont, right, captivity, Whilk, D.

³ A.; haue, ouerlaid, B. D.; nocht, B.; noght, D.

⁴ A. B.; damnabill, keep, alace, whereby, puts, D.

⁵ A. B.; Rise, thee, sweet, D.

Defend vs, according to thy word,
 Or we sall perische¹ be fyre and sword,
 That schawis² the veritie.

¶ F I N I S.

MUSING greitlie in my mynde
 The cruell Kirkmen in thair kynde,
 Quhilk bene indurit and sa blind,
 And trowis neuer to cum downe.

Thocht³ thow be Paip or Cardinall,
 Sa heich³ in thy Pontificall,
 Resist thow God, that creat all,
 Than³ downe, thow sall cum downe.

Thocht⁴ thow be Archebischop,⁴ or Deane,
 Chantour, Chanslar,⁵ or Chaplane,
 Resist thow God, thy gloir is gaine,⁵
 And downe, thow sall cum downe.

Thocht⁴ thou flow in Philosophie,⁶
 Or graduate in⁷ Theologie,
 Zit and thow syle⁶ the veritie,
 Than downe, thow sall cum downe.

Thocht⁴ thow be of Religioun,
 The straittest in all Region,
 Zit and thow glaik⁸ or gagioun

The

¹ So A. B.; perish, D.

³ A. B.; Thought, high, Then, D.

⁵ A. B.; chanclair, gane, D.

⁷ A. B.; *be* in, D.

² A.; shawis, B.; shawes, D.

⁴ A. B.; Though, archbishop, D.

⁶ A. B.; philosophy, syll, D.

⁸ A. E.; glaike, D.

The treuth,¹ thow sall cum downe.

Quhair is Chore, and Abirone?
Jamnes, Jambres, and Dathane becum?²
To resist God, quhilk maid thame bowne,²
Ar thay noch² all cumit downe?

And quhair² is Balaamis fals³ counsell?
Quhair is the prophetis³ of Jesabell?
And Bellis Preistis?³ be Daniell
Downe, thay war all brocht downe.

And mony ma I culd zow schaw,⁴
Quhilk⁴ of thair God wald stand na aw,
Bot him resistit, and his Law,
And downe, thay ar cum downe.

Thair is na King,⁵ nor Empreour,⁶
Erle, nor Duke of greit valure,
From tyme he⁷ know thair fals errour,
Bot he sall pluk⁸ thame downe.

Ophni and Phenis gat na grace,
Hely brak his neck, allace!⁹
And his offspring put fra thair⁹ place,
King Salomone put thame downe.

And King Achab and Helyas
The fals prophetis distroyit¹⁰ hes,
And als the nobill Josias

¹ So A. B.; trueth, D.

² A. B.; become, boune, noght, where, D.

³ A. B.; Balaams false, prophets, preistis, D.

⁴ A. B.; shaw, Whilke, D.

⁵ A. B.; kingdome, D.

⁶ A.; Empriour, B.; Emperour, D.

⁷ A.; ze, B.; zee, D.

⁸ A.; pluck, B.; plucke, D.

⁹ A. B.; necke, alace, from their, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; prophets destroyed, D.

Put all false Prophetis¹ downe.

Is thair na ma? quhy² said I all?
Zit mony² thousand sall haif³ ane fall,
Quhilk² haldis Christin³ men in thrall,
Princes sall put thame downe.

Wald thay na mair Impugne⁴ the treuth,⁵
Syne in thair office be nocht sleuth,⁵
Than Christ on thame suld haif sic reuth,⁵
That thay suld not cum downe.

I pray to God that thay and we
Obey his word in vnitie,
Throw Faith, wark, and⁶ be cheritie,
And lat vs neuer cum downe.

❧ F I N I S.

THE Bischop⁷ of Hely brak⁷ his neck,
Dishereist⁸ of his benefice,
Cause he the preistis⁷ wald not correct,
Corruptand Goddis⁷ Sacrifice;
Sen our Hely, in his office,
Is lyke⁹ in Preuaricatioun,
He sall ressaif¹⁰ sic lyke⁹ Justice,
Mak⁹ he nocht⁹ reformatioun.

The Leuites¹¹ at thair awin hand,¹²

Thay

¹ So A. B.; all these false prophets, D.

² A.; haue, Christen, B. D.

³ A. B.; trueth, slueth, rueth, D.

⁴ A. B.; Bishop, brake, priestes, Gods, D.

⁵ A. B.; like, make, not, D.

⁶ A. D.; Leuitis, B.

² A. B.; why, yet many, whilke, D.

⁴ A.; impunge, B.; impung, D.

⁶ So A.; warkand, B.; workand, D.

⁸ A.; Disherist, B. D.

¹⁰ A.; ressaue, B.; receiue, D.

¹² A. B.; owne hands, D.

Thay reft thair teind, and mekle¹ mair,
 Expres aganis Goddis² command,
 Thair huredome haitit he rycht sair,
 Thairfoir,³ God send thame sic cruell weir,
 Thay tint the feild,³ the Ark⁴ was tane,
 Hely fell downe, throw suddane³ feir,
 And brak³ his neck, and coller bane.

Ophni and Phenis, zour⁵ conscience remord,
 Amend zour lyfe,⁵ or in the feild,³
 Ze⁵ salbe slaine; and ze, my Lord,
 Quhilk⁵ hes the wyte, that thay are keild,
 Helis Jugement⁶ salbe zour beild:
 And als zour mortal Ennemeis⁵
 Sall bruke, withoutin⁷ speir or scheild,
 Zour office, euin befor zour eyis.

For zour⁵ abuse may be ane brother
 To Tharis,⁸ als lyke in similitude,
 As euer ane eg⁹ was lyke ane vther,
 Of Goddis word baith destitude;
 And greit God in¹⁰ Sanctitude,
 Quhais power hes nocht¹¹ taine¹² ane end,
 Sall send, with that same fortitude,
 Siclyke on¹⁰ zow, except ze mend.

All the exempillis¹³ of the Law
 Ar writtin,¹³ with greit diligence,
 For our saikis,¹⁴ that we stand aw,
 Of Goddis hie Magnificence,

¹ So A.; mekill, B. D.

² A. B.; expresse against Gods, D.

³ A. B.; Therefore, field, sudden, brake, D.

⁴ A. B.; kirke, D.

⁵ A. B.; your, life, yee, whilke, enemies, D.

⁶ A. B.; Helles judgement, D.

⁷ A.; withouttin, B.; withoutten, D.

⁸ A.; Pharis, B. D.

⁹ A. B.; egge, D.

¹⁰ A. D.; of, to, B.

¹¹ A. B.; nought, D.

¹² A.; tane, B. D.

¹³ A. B.; examples, written, D.

¹⁴ A. B.; selues, D.

Of this we haif¹ experience
 Of diuers Natiounis² round about,
 For Inglis³ Prelatis, Duche,³ and Dence,
 For thair abuse ar rutit³ out.

Reforme in tyme, leif⁴ zour tyrannie,
 First mend zour lyfe,⁵ syne leirne⁵ to preiche,
 Thocht wageour⁶ Freiris faine wald lie,
 The treuth⁵ will furth, and will not leiche,
 For euerie man dois vther teiche,
 And comptis⁷ nocht zour crueltie,
 Except ze mend, I will nocht fleiche,
 Ze sall end all mischeuouslie.

¶ F I N I S.

I AM wo for thir wolfis⁸ sa wylde,
 Quhilk⁸ neuer will conuert
 Thair fals indurit⁸ hart;
 Sa lang the warld thay haif¹ begylde,⁸
 And baneist vs from Jesus Christ.

Greit cause thay haif¹ for till repent,
 Zot will thay nocht⁹ do so,
 Nouth¹⁰er for weill nor wo;
 Thair blindit⁹ mynde can nocht⁹ consent,
 That we are onlie sauit⁹ be Christ.

Thair subtell¹¹ slychtis¹² now are spyt,¹²
 Be

¹ So A.; haue, B. D.

³ A. B.; Ingles, Dutch, ruttet, D.

⁵ A. B.; your life, leerne, trueth, D.

⁷ A.; countis, B.; counts, D.

⁹ A. B.; nought, blinded, saued, D.

¹¹ A.; subtill, B. D.

² A. B.; diuerse natiouns, D.

⁴ A.; leue, B.; leaue, D.

⁶ A.; wage our, B.; vagant, D.

⁸ A. B.; wolfes, whilke, indured, begyled, D.

¹⁰ A.; Nowther, B. D.

¹² A. B.; slightes, spyed, D.

Be Christ the veritie ;
 Thair fals Hypocresie ¹
 Throw all the warld is now outcryt,
 Quhairwith ¹ thay baneist vs fra Christ.

Thay brint, ² and heryit Christin ³ men,
 And flemit thame full far ; ²
 Thay said, thay did bot erre,
 That spak of the Commandementis ² ten,
 Or red the word of Jesus Christ.

Heretykis ⁴ thay did vs call,
 Curssand ⁵ vs nycht and day,
 The treuth ⁴ durst na man say ;
 Trew Preichouris war ⁴ forbidden all
 To schaw ⁴ the word of Jesus Christ.

Thay baneist thame in vncouth land, ⁶
 Full mony hunder myle ;
 Quhair ¹ thay, in thair exile,
 Leirnit ⁶ better till vnderstand
 The trew word of Jesus Christ.

Nobill Lordis ⁷ of greit renowne,
 That fauoris ⁷ the treuth, ⁸
 On zour Saulis ⁸ haif ⁹ reuth, ⁸
 And put thir Antechristis ¹⁰ downe,
 Quhilk wald suppres ¹¹ the Word of Christ,

Under cullour of commoun ¹² weill,

¹ So A. B.; hypocresie, Where, D. ² A. B.; brunt, sair, commandments, D.

³ A.; Christen, B. D. ⁴ A. B.; Heritikes, trueth, preachers were, shaw, D.

⁵ A.; Cursand, B. D.

⁶ A. B.; lands, Learned, D.

⁷ A. B.; Lords, fauours *aye*, D.

⁸ A. B.; trueth, your saulles, rueth, D.

⁹ A.; haue, B. D.

¹⁰ A. B.; the Antechristes, D.

¹¹ A. B.; Whilke wald suppress, D.

¹² A. B., collour of common, D.

Thair cloikit subteltie,¹
 And with greit crueltie ;
 Eftir thay think to slay and keill
 All that confes² the word of Christ.

For sa thay think to bleir zour E,
 And syne at zow to hount,³
 And do as thay war wount,³
 And will exerce thair Tyrannie
 On zow, and all that luiffis⁴ Christ.

Scotland was neuer in harder case,
 Sen Fergus first it wan ;
 The Preistis⁵ we may sair ban,
 Quhilk⁵ hes the wyte, that brak⁶ the peace,
 For to put downe the word of Christ.

Ane hunder⁶ thousand thay wald sé⁷
 Zockit in till ane feild,
 Under thair⁶ speir and scheild ;
 Bot with the wyfis⁷ thay wald be⁷
 At hame, to smoir⁷ the word of Christ.

Defend na mair thir wolfis sa⁸ wylde,
 Sa full of cruelnes ;⁹
 Their cloikit halynes⁹
 Baith men and wyfis sa lang hes sylde,¹⁰
 And ar the verray Antichristis.⁹

❧ F I N I S.

Allace,

¹ A. B.; cloiseit subtilty, D.

³ A. B.; hunt, were wont, D.

⁵ A. B.; priestes, whilke, brake, D.

⁷ A. B.; see, wyues, bee, smore, D.

⁹ A. B.; cruelnesse, clokit halinesse, verie Antichristis, D.

² A. B.; confesse, D.

⁴ A.; luifis, B.; loues, D.

⁶ A.; hundreth, their, B. D.

⁸ A. B.; sa omitted in D.

¹⁰ A.; fylde, B.; sylde, D.

ALLACE! vnkyndlie,¹ Christ we haif exilit,¹
 And of thair fude his flock we haif² begylit:¹
 With vanities we haif² thame lang deludit,³
 And in fals belief³ hes thame includit;³
 And euer this was the blating of our queir,
 Fatheris⁴ of haly Kirk,⁴ this xv. hunder⁴ zeir.

The watter⁵ of life we gaif⁵ thame neuer to drink,
 Bot stinkand pulis⁶ of euerie rottin synk.
 For haly Scripture alluterlie⁶ we haif² mockit,⁶
 And with traditiounis⁷ of men we haif² thame zockit;⁶
 And euer this was the blating of our queir,
 Fatheris⁴ of haly Kirk, this xv. hunder⁴ zeir.

Man, befor⁸ God, sa lang⁸ we haif² preferrit,⁸
 Quhill⁹ we sé now almaist⁹ that all is marrit,
 And God him selfe is greuit⁹ and displesit,⁹
 And we thairby ar bot lytill easit,⁹
 Althocht it be the blating¹⁰ of our queir,
 Fatheris⁴ of haly Kirk, this xv. hunder⁴ zeir.

Our blind desyris¹¹ sen we may not¹² fulfill,
 Welcum,¹¹ gude Lord, full sair aganis¹¹ our will;
 Zit nochttheles we sall do as we may,
 And eftir this luke for ane better day,
 And zit salbe the blating¹⁰ of our queir,
 Fatheris⁴ of haly Kirk, this xv. hunder⁴ zeir.

We knaw, as did King Saull, our fatell¹³ fall,
 Zit, quhill⁹ we die, Dauid persew we sall.

¹ So A. B.; unkindly, exylid, begyled, D.

² A.; haue, B. D.

³ A. B.; deluded, false beleife, included, D.

⁴ A. B.; Fathers, kirke, xvj. hunder, D.

⁵ A.; water, gaue, B. D.

⁶ A. B.; poulles, allutterly, mocked, zocked, D.

⁷ A.; traditionis, B.; traditions, D.

⁸ A. B.; before, so long, preferred, D.

⁹ A. B.; Whill, almost, greiued, displeased, a little eased, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; blaiting, D.

¹¹ A. B.; desires, Welcome, against, D.

¹² A.; nocht, B. D.

¹³ A. B.; fatall, D.

Suppose we suld wrack our self,¹ and tyne,
 The feild, and all our kin be hangit syne,
 Zit sall it be the bleting² of our queir,¹
 Fatheris¹ of haly Kirk, this xv. hunder zeir.

Lat Moses preiche to Pharo³ as he lykis,³
 Zit sall the peple be tormentit lyke tykis,³
 And neuer depart from Egypt; (gif⁴ we may),
 We salbe cruellst on the hindmest⁴ day.
 Quhen we ar drownit, we sall blait on our beir,
 Fatheris¹ of haly Kirk, this xv. hunder zeir.

O cankerit carionnis,⁵ and o ze rottin stakis,⁵
 O stangand Edderis,⁶ and o ze poisound⁷ snakis,⁶
 Sen ze will not⁶ change zour indurit⁶ will,
 Knawand zour fault, zit will continew⁸ still,
 Sing on guk, guk, the blating⁸ of zour queir,¹
 Fals Fatheris of haly Kirk, this xv. hunder zeir.⁹

FINIS.

OF the fals fyre¹⁰ of Purgatorie,
 Is nocht left in ane sponk :
 Thairfoir sayis Gedde, wayis me,¹¹
 Gone is Preist, Freir and Monk.

The reik sa wounder¹² deir thay solde,¹²
 For money, gold and landis :¹²
 Quhill¹² half the ryches¹² on the molde

Is

¹ So A. B.; wrake our selfe, quier, Fathers, D.

² A.; blating, B. D.

³ A. B.; Let Moyses preich to Pharao, likes, tormented like tykes, D.

⁴ A.; giue, hinmest, B. D.

⁵ A. B.; cankered carionns, rotten stakes, D.

⁶ A. B.; Edders, snakes, nocht, your indured, D.

⁷ A.; poyssound, B. D.

⁸ A. B.; continue, blaiting, D.

⁹ A. B.; False Fathers of the haly kirk, the xvj. hunder yeere, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; false fire, D. ¹¹ A.; way is, B.; Therefore sayes Gedoe, woes mee, D.

¹² A. B.; wonder, salde, landes, while, riches, D.

Is seasit in thair handis.¹

Thay knew nathing bot¹ couatice,²
And lufe³ of Paramouris;³
And lat the Saulis³ burne and bis
Of all thair Foundatoris.³

At Corps presence thay wald⁴ sing,
For ryches,⁴ to slokkin⁴ the fyre:⁴
Bot all pure folk, that had na thing,
Was skaldit baine⁵ and lyre.

Zit sat thay heich in Parliament,⁶
Lyke Lordis of greit⁷ Renowne:
Quhill⁸ now that the New Testament
Hes it and thame brocht⁸ downe.

And thocht thay fuffe⁹ at it, and blaw,
Ay quhill⁸ thair belleis ryue:
The mair thay blaw, full weill thay knaw,
The mair it dois misthryue.

❧ F I N I S.

WAY is¹⁰ the Hirdis of Israell
That feidis nocht Christis¹¹ flock,
Bot daintellie¹² thay feid thame self,
Syne dois the peple¹³ mock.

The syllie scheip¹⁴ was all forlorne,

¹ So A. B.; handes, nothing but, D.

² A.; couetice, B. D.

³ A. B.; loue, paramours, saules, foundatours, D.

⁴ A. B.; they would, riches, slocken, fire, D.

⁵ A. B.; scaldit bane, D.

⁶ A. B.; Yet sat they high in parlement, D.

⁷ A. B.; lordes of hie, D.

⁸ A. B.; Whill, brought, D.

⁹ A. B.; thought they snuffe, D.

¹⁰ A. D.; Wo is, B.

¹¹ A. B.; feids noght Christs, D.

¹² A.; daintelie, B.; dantily, D.

¹³ A.; pepill, B. D.

¹⁴ A. B.; silly sheep, D.

And was the wolfis pray¹ :
 The hirdis¹ teindit all the corne,
 The scheip¹ culd get na stray.

Thay gadderit vp baith woll and mylk²
 And tuke na mair cure :
 Bot cled thame with the coistlie sylk,²
 And siclyke cled thair hure.

Thairfoir,³ sayis God, I will requyre³
 My scheip¹ furth of thair handis,³
 And gif⁴ thame hirdis⁵ at my desyre,⁵
 To teiche⁵ thame my commandis.⁵

And thay sall nouthir feid thame self,⁶
 Nor zit hunger⁷ my scheip;¹
 I sall thame from my Kirk expell,
 And gif⁷ thame swyne to keip.

❧ F I N I S.

GOD send euerie Preist⁸ ane wyfe,⁸
 And euerie Nunne ane man,⁸
 That thay mycht⁹ leue¹⁰ that haly lyfe,¹⁰
 As first the Kirk began.

Sanct Peter, quhome nane can reprufe,
 His lyfe¹⁰ in Mariage led :
 All guide Preistis,¹¹ quhome God did lufe,
 Thair

¹ So A. B.; prey, hirds, sheep, D.

² A. B.; wooll and milk, costly silk, D.

³ A. B.; Therefore, require, hands, D.

⁴ A.; giue, B. D.

⁵ A. B.; them hyrds, desire, teich, commands, D.

⁶ A.; them self, B.; them selfe, D.

⁷ A. D.; hounger, geue, B.

⁸ A. B.; every priest, wife, a man, D.

⁹ A.; nicht, B.; may, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; liue, life, D.

¹¹ A. B.; preists, D.

Thair maryit wyffis¹ had.

Greit causis² than, I grant, had thay
Fra wyffis¹ to refraine :
Bot greiter causis haif³ thay may,
Now wyffis³ to wed againe.

For than⁴ suld nocht⁴ sa mony hure
Be vp and downe this land :
Nor zit sa mony beggeris⁴ pure,
In Kirk and mercat stand.

And nocht⁵ sa mekle⁶ bastard seid,
Throw out this cuntrie sawin :
Nor gude men vncouth fry suld feid,
And all the suith war⁷ knawin.

Sen Christis⁸ law, and commoun⁸ law,
And Doctouris⁸ will admit,
That Preistis⁹ in that zock suld draw,
Quha dar say contrair it?

❧ F I N I S .

THE wind blawis cauld, furius¹⁰ & bauld,
This lang and mony day :
But Christis¹¹ mercy, we man¹¹ all die,
Or keip¹² the cauld¹² wind away.

¹ So A.; wyfis, B.; wyfes, D.

³ A.; haue, wyfis, B. D.

⁵ A. B.; not, D.

⁷ A. B.; were, D.

⁹ A. B.; priests, D.

¹¹ A. B.; Christs, mon, D.

² A. D.; cause, B.

⁴ A. B.; then, noght, beggers, D.

⁶ A.; mekill, B.; meikill, D.

⁸ A. B.; Christs, common, doctours, D.

¹⁰ A.; furious, B. D.

¹² A. B.; keep, cald, D.

This wind sa keine, that I of meine,
 It is the ryte¹ of auld,
 Our Faith is inclusit, and plainlie¹ abusit,
 This wind hes blawin tó cauld.²

This wind hes blawin lang the peple³ amang,
 And blindit⁴ hes thair wit :
 The Ignorant peple³ sa lawit bene and febill,
 That thay wat nocht⁴ quhome to wyte.

Goddis word & lawis the peple³ misknawis,
 Na credence hes the Scripture :
 Quha the suith dois infer, preistis⁵ say thay⁵ erre,
 Sic bene thair⁵ busie cure.

Quha dois present the New Testament,
 Quhilk is our Faith surelie⁶
 Preistis⁵ callis him lyke ane Heretyke,⁶
 And sayis, brunt sall he be.

This cryis on hie the Spiritualitie,⁷
 As nane them suld defy :
 Bot thair illusioun,⁷ and fals abusioun,⁷
 The peple³ dois now espy.

Quhome suld we wyte of this dispyte,⁸
 That hid fra vs Goddis Law :
 Bot preistis⁹ and clerkis,⁹ and thair⁵ euil¹⁰ warkis,⁹
 Quhilk dois thair God misknaw.

Thair

¹ So A.; vyce, B. D.; plainelie, B.; plainly, D.

² A. B.; too cald, D.

³ A.; pepill, B. D.

⁴ A. B.; blinded, wot noght, D.

⁵ A. B.; Priests, they, their, D.

⁶ A. B.; surely, like ane heretike, D.

⁷ A. B.; spirituality, illusion, abusion, D.

⁸ A. B.; despite.

⁹ A. B.; priests, clarkis, warks, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; euill, B. D.

Thair greit extortioun,¹ and plaine oppressioun¹
 Ascendis¹ in the air :
 Without God puneis thair cruell vice,²
 This warld sall all forfair.

The theif Judas³ did greit trespas,
 That Christ for siluer sauld :⁴
 Bot Preistis⁴ will tak,⁴ and his price mak,⁴
 For les be mony fauld.⁴

With wrang absolutiounis,⁵ & desaitful pardonis,⁵
 For lucre to thame geuin :⁶
 Thay⁶ blind vs now, and garris⁶ vs trow,
 Sic will bring vs till heuin.

Gif⁷ eirdlie pardonis⁸ nicht be our Saluatiounis,⁸
 Than⁹ Christ deit⁹ in vaine :
 Gif⁷ geir mycht by Goddis⁹ greit mercy,
 Than fals is the Scripture plaine.

Syne for our schoir¹⁰ he deit thairfoir,¹⁰
 And tholit¹⁰ paine for our mis :
 Is nane bot he, that may surelie
 Bring vs to heuinnis¹⁰ blis.

Than⁹ be na way, sé that ze pray
 To Peter, James, nor Johne,
 Nor zit to Paule, to saif¹¹ your Saule,
 For power haif¹¹ thay⁶ none,

¹ So A. B.; extortion, oppression, Ascends, D.

² A. D.; vyce B.

³ A. B.; Zudas, D.

⁴ A. B.; sald, priests, take, make, fald, D.

⁵ A.; absolutiouns, B.; absolutions, deceitful pardons, D.

⁶ A. B.; them giuen, they, gars, D.

⁷ A. D.; Giue, B.

⁸ A. B.; eirdly pardons, saluation, D.

⁹ A. B.; Then, died, might buy Gods, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; shore, therefore, tholed, heuins, D.

¹¹ A.; saue, haue, B. D.

Saif¹ Christ onlie that deit² on tré,
 He may baith louse² and bind :
 In vtheris² mo, geue² ze traist so,³
 On zow blawis cauld³ the wind.

Now sé ze pray, baith nycht and day,
 To Christ that bocht⁴ vs deir :
 For, on the Rude, he sched⁴ his blude,
 To saif¹ our Saulis⁴ but weir.

FINIS.

HAY now the day dallis,
 Now Christ on vs callis,
 Now welth on our wallis
 Apperis anone :
 Now the Word of God Regnes :⁵
 Quhilk⁶ is King of all Kingis,⁶
 Now Christis flock singis,⁶
 The nycht⁵ is neir⁶ gone.

Wo be vnto zow Hypocritis,⁷
 That on the Lord sa loudlie leis,⁷
 And all for to fill zour foule belleis,⁷
 Ze ar not⁸ of Christis⁹ blude nor bone :
 For ze preiche⁹ zour⁹ awin dremis,
 And sa the word of God blasphemis,
 God wat sa weill it semis,
 The nycht⁵ is neir⁶ gone.

¹ So A. D.; Saue, B.

² A. B.; to, blawes cald, D.

³ A.; regnis, nicht, B.; rings, night, D.

⁴ A. B.; Whilk, kings, sings, neere, D.

⁵ A. B.; hypocrits, loudly lies, foull bellies, D.

⁶ A.; nocht, B.; noght, D.

² A. B.; died, lowse, vthers, gif, D.

⁴ A. B.; boght, shed, saulls, D.

⁹ A. B.; Christs, preich, your, D.

Wo be to zow, Pharesianis,¹
 That Regnis² zit lyke hie Capitanis,²
 And haldis³ Christis³ men in mony panis,³
 Rycht¹ cairfull is thair mone :
 I traist till God ze sall deir by³ it,
 Because thair⁴ falset is now spyit,
 And all Christin⁵ men sall cry it,
 The nycht⁵ is neir gone.

Wo be to zow, Paip and Cardinall,
 I traist to God ze sall get ane fall,
 With Monkis, Preistis, and Freiris⁶ all,
 That traistis nocht⁶ in God allone :⁶
 For all zour⁷ greit pompe and pryde,⁸
 The word of God ze sall nocht hyde,⁸
 Nor zit till vs na mair be gyde ;⁸
 The nycht⁵ is neir gone.

Ze gart vs trow in stock⁹ and stone,
 That thay wald help mony one,
 And nocht⁶ till traist in God allone,
 I say, ze⁷ leit euerie¹⁰ one :
 I wat¹⁰ Sanct Peter, nor Sanct Paule,
 Nor zit⁷ na Sanct can saif zour Saule,¹⁰
 Thocht ze with lesingis¹¹ mak mony braull ;
 The nycht⁵ is neir gone.

Ze serue to strickin¹² be with roddis,¹²
 Because of Idolis¹² ze mak Goddis,¹²
 For all zour Joukis and your noddis,¹²

¹ So A. ; Pharesians, richt, B. ; Pharisians, right, D.

² A. B. ; ring, like Capitans, D.

³ A. B. ; halds, Christs, pains, buy, D.

⁴ A. ; zour, B. D.

⁵ A. B. ; Chresten, night, D.

⁶ A. B. ; Priests and Friers, noght, alone, D.

⁷ A. B. ; your, ye, yet, D.

⁸ A. B. ; pride, hide, guide, D.

⁹ A. D. ; stok, B.

¹⁰ A. B. ; lied euery, wot, saue your Saull, D.

¹¹ A. ; mony lesingis, B. ; mony leisings, D.

¹² A. B. ; stricken, rods, Idols, Gods, nods, D.

Zour hartis¹ is hard as ony¹ stone :
 Ze will nocht¹ leif zour Hypocrisie,
 Bot zour desyris¹ is ay for to lie,
 And the Feind away with zow wald flie.²
 The nycht³ is neir gone.

Ze begylit⁴ vs with zour hudis,
 Schawand zour relykis⁴ and zour ruddis.
 To pluk⁴ fra vs pure men our guddis,
 Ze schaw⁴ vs the heid of Sanct Johne,
 With the arm of Sanct Geill ;
 To rottin banis⁴ ze gart vs kneill,
 And sanit⁵ vs from neck to heill.
 The nycht³ is neir gone.

Requiem eternam fast thay patter,
 Befoir⁶ the deide, with haly watter,⁶
 The lawit folk trowis⁶ the heuin will clatter,
 Thay sing with sic deuotioun.
 Ze say that Saule ze⁷ sall gar Sanct,
 Bot and the money war neuer sa⁷ scant,
 Ane pennie of zour waige ze⁸ will not want.
 The nycht³ is neir gone.

Syne to zow⁹ we mon offer,
 Pundis and penneis⁹ furth of our⁹ coffer
 And lay it downe vpon the Aulter¹⁰
 For the deide of that one.
Anime omnium ze will say,
 Syne cast the Corps in¹⁰ the clay ;
 Than

¹ So A. B. ; harts, any, not, desires, D.

² A. D. ; flé, B.

³ A. ; nicht, B. ; night, D.

⁴ A. B. ; begyled, Shawand your reliques, pluck, shaw, rotten banes, D.

⁵ A. ; sauit, B. D.

⁶ A. B. ; Before, water, trowes, D.

⁷ A. B. ; ye, were neuer so, D.

⁸ A. ; penny of wage, B. ; penny of *your* wage you, D.

⁹ A. B. ; yow, Pounds and pennies, ane, D.

¹⁰ A. D. ; Alter, into, B.

Than haif ¹ ze done all that ze may.
Now the nycht ¹ is neir gone.

¶ F I N I S.

P REISTIS,² Christ beleue,
And onlie traist in to his blude,
And nocht ³ in to zour warkis ⁴ gude,
As plainlie Paule can preue.

¶ Preistis, leirne ⁵ to preiche,⁵
And put away zour Ignorance,
Pryse ⁶ onlie God, his word auance,
And Christis ⁵ peple ⁶ teiche.

¶ Preistis, cut zour gowne,
Zour nukit bonet put away,
And cut zour typpet ⁷ in to tway,
Go preiche from towne to towne.

¶ Preistis, tak zour staffe,
And preiche the Euangell on zour feit,
And set on Sandellis ⁸ full meit,
Bot cast zour pantonis ⁸ of.

¶ Preistis, keip ⁸ no gold,
Siluer nor cunze in zour purs,
Nor zit twa coittis ⁹ with zow turs,
Bot schone ¹⁰ to keip zow from cold.¹⁰

¶ Preistis, thole ¹¹ to preiche,
Sen ze zour self ¹¹ can preiche na thing,
Or we zour brauling ¹² downe sall bring,
And na mair with zow fleiche.

¹ So A.; haue, B. D.; nicht, B.; night, D.

² A. B.; Priests, D.; and so in ten stanzas.

⁴ A. B.; your warkes, D.

⁶ A.; Prais, B.; Praise, D.; pepill, B. D.

⁸ A. B.; Sandels, pantons, keep, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; shoone, cald, D.

³ A. D; not, B.; noght, D.

⁵ A. B.; learne, preich, Christs, D.

⁷ A.; tippet, B.; tippit, D.

⁹ A.; coitis, B.; cotes, D.

¹¹ A. D.; thoill, selfis, B.

¹² A.; brawling, B. D.

¶ Preistis, tak ¹ na teind,
 Except the word of God ze schaw,¹
 Thocht ¹ ze allege ² zour use, and law,
 It is nocht ¹ as ze weind.

¶ Preistis, tak na kyis,
 The vmest claith ze sall quyte clame,³
 Fra sax ⁴ pure bairnis ⁵ with thair dame,
 A uengeance on zow cryis.

¶ Preistis, burne no mo,⁶
 Of wrang delatioun ⁶ ze may hyre,
 And fals witnes na mair inquiry,⁷
 And lat ⁷ abiuring go.

¶ Preistis, all and sum,
 Suld call ane Counsall ⁸ generall,
 And dres all thingis Spirituall,
 Bot thair thay ⁹ will nocht ⁹ cum.

¶ Preistis,¹⁰ reid ¹¹ and wryte,
 And zour fals Cannowne ¹² law lat be,
 Quhair Papis contrair Scripturis¹³ lie,
 And contrair doctouris dyte.¹³

¶ Preistis, pryde zow nocht
 Quhat zour Counsellis hes ¹⁴ conclude,
 Contrair the writ, and Christis¹⁵ blude,
 The quhilk ¹⁵ sa deir vs bocht.

¶ Preistis, curse no moir,¹⁶
 And now zour hartis na mair indure,¹⁷
 Bot on zour flockis tak ¹⁶ cure,
 Or God sall curse zow soir.¹⁶

¶ Preistis, leif¹⁷ zour pryde,
 Zour skarlet¹⁸ and zour veluote ¹⁸ soft,
 Zour

¹ So A. B.; take, shaw, Thoght, noght, D.

² A.; alledge, B. D.

³ A.; quyte claime, B.; quite claime, D.

⁴ A. D.; sex, B.

⁵ A.; barnis, B.; bairnes, D.

⁶ A. B.; na ma, delation, D.

⁷ A.; inquire, let, B. D.

⁸ A.; Counsell, B. D.

⁹ A. B.; there they, noght, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; Preistes, and so in eight stanzas, D.

¹¹ A.; read, B. D.

¹² A. B.; Cannoun, B.; common lawes, D.

¹³ A. B.; Scripture, Doctoures write, D.

¹⁴ A. B.; counsels *does*, D.

¹⁵ A. B.; write and Christes, whilke, D.

¹⁶ A. B.; more, flockes take, sore, D.

¹⁷ A. B.; not your heartes indure, D.; A. B.; leue, D.

¹⁸ A.; skarlat, B.; scarlat, veluate, D.

Zour hors and mulis costlie¹ coft,
And Jakmen be zour syde.

¶ Preistis, sober be,
And fecht not, nouthor boist, nor schoir,
Misreule the realm and court no moir,²
And to zour Kirkis flé.²

¶ Preistis, mend zour lyfe,
And leif zour foule Sensualitie,
And vylde stinkand chaistitie,³
And ilk ane wed ane wyfe.³

¶ Preistis, pray na mair⁴
To Sanct Anthone, to saif⁵ thy⁶ sow,
Nor to Sanct Bryde, to keip thy⁶ cow,
That greuis⁴ God rycht sair.⁴

¶ Preistis, wirschip⁷ God,
And put away zour⁸ Imagerie,
Zour Pardonis⁸ and fraternitie,
To hell the way and rod.

¶ Preistis,⁹ sell na Mes,¹⁰
Bot minister that Sacrament,
As Christ, in the New Testament,
Commandit zow expres.¹⁰

¶ Preistis, put away
Zour paintit fyre of Purgatorie,
The ground of zour Idolatrie,
It is neir Domisday.¹¹

¶ Preistis, change zour tone,¹²
And sing in to zour mother tung
Inglish Psalmes,¹² and ze¹² impugne,¹³
Ze will¹⁴ dyne efter none.¹²

¹ A. B.; costly, D.

² A. B.; more, your Kirkes flee, D.

³ A. B.; chastitie, take ane wife, D.

⁴ A.; nae mair, B.; no more, greives, right sore, D.

⁵ A.; saue, B. D.

⁶ A. B.; your, D. ⁷ A.; worship, B. D. ⁸ A. B.; *your* omitted, pardons, D.

⁹ A. B.; Priestes, and so to end, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; no Messe, expresse, D.

¹¹ A. B.; Domeseday, D.

¹² A. B.; tune, Psames, yee, after noone, D.

¹³ A. D.; impunge, B.

¹⁴ A. B.; *will* omitted, D.

¶ Preistis, preif zow ¹ men,
 And now defend zour ¹ libertie ;
 For France, and for zour dignitie,
 Ze brak ¹ the peace ze ken.

Preistis, now confes,²
 How ze sa ² lang did vs begyle,
 With mony haly bellie wyle,
 To leue in Idilnes.²

¶ Preistis,³ I zow ¹ exhort,
 Zour ¹ office to do perfite ;⁴
 For I say na thing in despyte,⁵
 Sa God mot me support.

¶ F I N I S.

¶ *Till our gud man, till our gud man,
 Keip faith and lufe,⁵ till our gud man.*

FOR our gude man in heuin dois regne ⁶
 In gloir and blis ⁷ without ending,
 Quhar Angellis singis ⁸ euer *Osan*
 In laude and pryse ⁹ of our gude man.

Our gude man desyris thré thingis,¹⁰
 Ane hart, quhair fra contritioun springis,¹¹
 Syne lufe ¹¹ him best, our Saulis ¹² that wan,
 Quhen we war loste fra ¹² our gude man.

And

¹ A. B.; prief yow, your, Yee brake, D.

² A. B.; confesse, yee so, liue in idilnesse, D.

³ A. B.; omitted in D.

⁴ A. D.; perfyte, B.

⁵ A. B.; dispite, loue, D.

⁶ A.; ring B.; reigne, D.

⁷ A. B.; gloire, blisse, D.

⁸ A. B.; Where Angels singes, D.

⁹ A.; praise, B. D.

¹⁰ A. B.; desires three thinges, D.

¹¹ A. B.; heart where fra contrition springs, loue, D.

¹² A.; saullis, loist, B.; sauls, lost from, D.

And our gude man, that euer was kynde,¹
 Requyris¹ of vs ane faithfull mynde,¹
 Syne cheritabill² be with euerie² clan,
 For lufe² onlie of our gude man.

Zit³ our gude man requyris¹ moir,³
 To geue na'⁴ Creature his gloir,³
 And gif we do,³ (do quhat we can),
 We salbe loste fra³ our gude man.

And our gude man he⁵ promiseist sure,
 To euerie faithful⁵ Creature,
 His greit mercy, that, now or than,
 Will call for grace at our gude man.

Adame that our Foirfather⁶ was,
 He loste⁷ vs all for his Trespas,⁸
 Quhais brukkill banis⁸ we may sair ban,
 That gart vs lose our awin⁷ gude man.

Zit³ our gude man, gracious and gude,
 For our Saluatioun sched⁹ his blude,
 Upon the Croce, quhair thair⁹ began,
 The mercyfulness⁹ of our gude man.

This is the blude did vs refresche,¹⁰
 This is the blude that mon¹⁰ vs wesche,¹⁰
 The¹¹ blude that from his hart furth ran,
 Maid vs fré airis¹¹ till our gude man.

¹ So A. B.; kind, requires, minde, D.

² A. B.; cheritable, euery, loue, D.

³ A. B.; Yet, more, glore, wee doe, from, D. ⁴ A.; giue no, B. D.

⁵ A. B.; *hes*, euery faythfull, D.

⁶ A. B.; our fore-father *that*, D.

⁷ A.; loist, lois, B.; lost, lost (*sic*) our owne, D.

⁸ A. B.; trespasse, Whais bruckle banes, D.

⁹ A. B.; shed, where there, mercifulnesse, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; refresh, must, wash, D.

¹¹ A. B.; That, Made vs free aries, D.

Now lat¹ vs pray, baith day and hour,
 Till Christ our onlie Mediatour,
 Till saif¹ vs on the day that quhan²
 We sal be Jugeit² be our gude man.

¶ F I N I S.

REMEMBER man, remember man,
 That I thy Saule fra³ Sathan wan,
 And hes done for thé that⁴ I can;
 Thow art full deir to me.
 Is, was, nor salbe none,
 That may thé saif,³ bot I allone,
 Onlie thairfoir beleue me⁴ on,
 And thow sall neuer die.

Wolues, quhome⁵ of my Vangelistis⁶ wryte⁵
 And Paule⁶ and Peter did of dyte,⁵
 Allace! haif⁶ zow dissaut quyte,⁵
 With fals Hypocrisie.
 My New Testament, plaine and gude,
 For quhilk⁷ I sched⁷ my precious blude,
 Zour onlie hope and Saulis fude,⁸
 Thay hald for Heresie.⁹

And hes set vp thair¹⁰ fals doctrine
 For couetice,¹¹ in steid of myne,¹²
 With fyre and sword defendis¹³ it syne,
 Contrair¹⁴ my word and me.

The

¹ So A.; let, saue, B. D.

² A.; quhen, judgeit, B.; when, judged, D.

³ A.; saull from, saue, B. D.

⁴ A. B.; what, Onely therefore beleue mee, D.

⁵ A. B.; whom, write, dite, quite, D.

⁶ A.; Euangelistis, B.; Evangelistes, D.; Paull, haue, B. D.

⁷ A. B.; whilke, shed, D.

⁸ This line omitted in D.

⁹ A.; Herisie, B. D.

¹⁰ A.; their, D.; the, B.

¹¹ A. D.; couetise, B.

¹² A.; mine, B. D.

¹³ A. B.; defendes, D.

¹⁴ A. B.; contrare, D.

The Antichrist is cumit¹ but dout,
 And hes zow trappit² round about,
 Furth² of his gyne, thairfoir, cum² out,
 Gif ze wald sauit² be.

His Pilgramage³ and Purgatorie,
 His wirschipping⁴ of Imagerie,
 His Pardonis⁴ and fraternitie,
 With zeill and gude intent;
 The quhisperit sinnis, callit eir⁵ Confessioun,
 With his Preistis mumbillit⁶ absolutioun,
 And mony vther fals abusioun,
 The Paip hes done inuent.

With Messis sauld be Preist and Freir,
 For land and money, wounder⁷ deir,
 Quhilk is the ground staine⁸ of thair queir,
 And rute of all thair pryde.
 His *Pater-nosters*,⁸ bocht and sauld,
 His numerat⁹ Aueis, and Psalmes tauld,
 Quhilk⁹ my New Testament, nor my auld,
 On na wayis⁹ can abyde.

Thair half¹⁰ hag matines fast thay patter,
 Thay gif¹¹ zow breid, and sellis¹⁰ zow watter,
 His cursingis¹⁰ on zow als thay clatter,
 Thocht thay can hurt zow not,
 Gif¹² ze will geue thame¹³ Caip or Bell,
 The clink thairof¹³ thay will zow sell,
 Suppose the Saule¹⁴ suld ga¹⁴ to hell,

¹ So A. D.; cummin, B.

² A. B.; trapped, Foorth, girne, therefore, come, saued, D.

³ A. B.; Pilgrimage, D.

⁴ A.; worshipping, pardounis, B.; worshipping, pardouns, D.

⁵ A. B.; quhilsperit sinnes, called their, D. ⁶ A. D.; mumillit, B.; mumbilit, D.

⁷ A. B.; wonder, D. ⁸ A.; stane, B.; stone, D.; A.; *nosteris*, B.; *noster*, D.

⁹ A. B.; numered, Whilke, no wayes, D. ¹⁰ A. B.; haly, selles, cursinges, D.

¹¹ A.; geue, B.; giue, D.

¹² A. D.; Giue, B.

¹³ A. B.; giue them, cling thereof, D.

¹⁴ A. B.; Saul, goe, D.

Ze¹ get na thing vnbocht.

Thay¹ sell zow als the Sacramentis² seuin,
 Thay mycht haif³ maid² as weill aleuin,²
 Few or mony, od or euin,
 Zour pursis² for to pyke.
 Wald thay lat⁴ bot twa vsit be,
 Of Baptisme, and of my bodie,
 As thay war institute⁵ be me,
 Men wald thame better lyke.

Mariage is ane blissit⁶ band,
 Quhilk⁶ I gaif⁷ man⁶ in my command
 To keip,⁶ bot thay my word withstand;
 Ane sacrament it maid.
 Unto thair¹ vther Sacramentis⁸ fyue,
 Our saluation thay ascryue,
 Fra⁹ my trew Faith zow for to dryue,
 In vaine to mak⁹ my deide.

Thair¹ tryflis all ar maid¹⁰ be men,
 Quhilk⁶ my Gospell did neuer ken,
 My Law and my Commandementis¹⁰ ten,
 Thay hid from mennis¹⁰ eine.
 My New Testament thay wald keip⁶ downe,
 Quhilk suld be preicheit¹¹ fra towne to towne,
 Cause it wald cut thair lang tailit¹² gowne,
 And schaw thair lyues vnclene.¹³

And now thay ar with dolour pynde,¹³

And

¹ A. B.; They, their, D.; and so throughout.

² A. B.; Sacraments, made, elleuin, purses, D.

³ A.; nicht haue, B.; might haue, D.

⁴ A.; let, B. D.

⁵ A. B.; institute, D.

⁶ A. B.; blessed, Whilke, men, keepe, D.

⁷ A.; gaue, B. D.

⁸ A. B.; Sacramentes, D.

⁹ A. B.; From, make, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; trifles, are made, Commandments, hyd from mens, D.

¹¹ A.; preichit, B.; preached, D.

¹² A.; tailit, B. D.

¹³ A. B.; lyue unclene, pinde, D.

And lyke to raige¹ out of thair² mynde,¹
 Because fra thame ze ar² declynde,¹
 And will na lesingis¹ heir.
 Thairfoir thay mak sa³ greit vproir,
 Contrair⁴ the flock⁵ of Christis stoir,
 Determit, or thay will geue⁴ it ouer,
 To fecht all in to feir.

Bot⁶ hald zow⁶ at my Testament fast,
 And be na quhit⁶ of thame² agast,
 For I sall bring downe at the last,
 Thair² pryde and crueltie.
 Than⁷ cleirly sall my word be schawin,⁷
 And all thair falset salbe knawin,⁷
 That thay into all landis haif⁸ sawin,⁷
 Be thair² Idolatrie.

And ze sall leue⁹ in rest and peace,
 Instructit⁹ with my word of grace,
 For I the Antichrist deface
 Sall, and trew¹⁰ Preichouris⁹ send.
 Repent zour sin¹⁰ with all zour hart,
 And with trew¹⁰ Faith to me conuert,
 And heuinlie¹¹ gloir¹⁰ salbe zour part,
 With me to bruke¹¹ but end.

We pray thé, Jesus Christ¹² our Lord,
 Conforme our lyues¹² to thy word,
 That we may leue¹³ with ane accord,
 In perfite cheritie,¹³

¹ So A. B.; rage, minde, declinde, lesings, D. ² A. B.; their, *wee* are, them, D.

³ A. B.; Therefore they make *so*, D.

⁴ A. B.; Contrare, giue, D.

⁵ A.; *thy* flock, B.; the stock, D.

⁶ A. B.; But, zow, no quhite, D.

⁷ A. B.; Then, shawne, knawne, sawne, D.

⁸ A.; haue, B. D.

⁹ A. B.; liue, instructed, preachers, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; true, your sinne, gloire, D.

¹¹ A. D.; heuinly, bruik, B.

¹² A. B.; Christ Jesus, liues, D.

¹³ A.; liue, Charitie, D.

And forgeue¹ vs our sinfulness,²
 And cleith vs with thy rychteousnes,¹
 Of thy fauour and gentilnes,²
 We pray thé that So be.

❧ F I N I S.

THE Paip, that Pagane full of pryde,³
 He hes vs blindit³ lang,
 For quhair⁴ the blind the blind dois⁴ gyde,
 Na wounder⁵ baith ga⁵ wrang;
 Lyke Prince and King, he led the Regne,⁶
 Of all Iniquitie:
 Hay trix, tryme⁴ go trix, vnder the grene [wod tré].

Bot his abominatioun,⁷
 The Lord hes brocht to lycht;
 His Popische pryde,⁷ and thrinfald⁷ Crowne,
 Almaist hes loste⁸ thair mycht.⁸
 His plak Pardonis,⁸ ar bot lardonis,⁸
 Of new fund⁹ vanitie.
 Hay trix, tryme⁴ go trix, &c.

His Cardinallis¹⁰ hes cause¹¹ to murne,
 His Bischoppis¹⁰ borne aback,
 His Abbotis¹⁰ gat ane vncouth turne,
 Quhen schauelingis¹⁰ went to sack,
 With Burges wyffis¹² thay led thair lyues,¹²
 And fure better nor¹³ we,

Hay

¹ So A.; forgiue, B. D.; richteousnes, B.; righteousness, D.

² A. B.; sinfulness, gentleness, D.

³ A. B.; pryd, blinded, D.

⁴ A. B.; where, doe, trim, D. ⁵ A.; wonder, B. D.; *thay* ga, B.; both go, D.

⁶ A.; ring, B. D.

⁷ A. B.; abomination, popish pride, threefald, D.

⁸ A.; loist, nicht, B.; lost their licht, D.; pardounis, lardounis, B.; pardones, lurdons, D.

⁹ A.; found, B. D.

¹⁰ A. B.; cardinales, bishops, abbots, shauellings, D.

¹¹ A. D.; caus, B.

¹² A.; wyffis, lyfis, B.; wives, liues, D.

¹³ A. B.; fare better *than*, D.

Hay trix, tryme go trix, &c.

His Carmelitis,¹ and Jacobinis,
 His Dominikis² had greit do,¹
 His Cordeleris,² and Augustinis,³
 Sanct Frances of⁴ ordour to ;
 Thay sillie Freiris,³ mony zeiris,
 With babling blerit our E,¹
 Hay trix, tryme go trix, &c.

The Sisteris⁵ gray, befoir⁵ this day,
 Did crune within thair cloister,⁵
 Thay feit⁵ ane Freir, thair keyis to beir,
 The Feind ressaue the foster
 Syne, in the mirk, he weill culd wirk,

 Hay trix, tryme go trix, &c.

The blind Bischop,⁶ he culd nocht⁶ preiche,
 For playing with the lassis,
 The sillie Freir behulffit⁷ to fleiche,⁶
 For almous that he assis,
 The Curat, his Creid he culd nocht⁶ reid,
 Schame⁸ fall the cumpanie.⁸
 Hay trix, tryme go trix, &c.

The Bischop⁶ wald nocht⁶ wed ane wyfe,⁹
 The Abbot not persew⁹ ane,
 Thinkand it was ane lustie lyfe,⁹
 Ilk day to haif¹⁰ ane new ane,

¹ So A.; Carmelites, ado, ee, B. D.

² A.; Dominiks, Cordeleiris, B.; Dominikes, Cordeleir, D.

³ A. B.; Augustines, The silly Friars, D.

⁴ A. D.; *of* omitted in B.

⁵ A. B.; Sisters, before, their closter, They feeit, D.

⁶ A. B.; Bishop, not, sleech, D.

⁷ A.; behuffit, B.; behuifit, D.

⁸ A. B.; Shame, company, D.

⁹ A. B.; wife, perseu, life, D.

¹⁰ A.; haue, B. D.

In euerie place, ane uncouth face,
His lust to satisfie.

Hay trix, tryme go trix, &c.

The Persoun¹ wald nocht haif² ane hure,
Bot twa, and thay war¹ bony,
The Vicar,¹ (thocht¹ he was pure),
Behuifit³ to haif² as³ mony,⁴
The pareis Preist,⁴ that brutall beist,

Hay trix, tryme go trix, &c.

Of Scotland well the Freiris⁵ of Fail,
The lymmerie⁵ lang hes lestit,
The Monkis⁵ of Melros maid gude kail,
On Frydayis⁵ quhen thay fastit,
The sillie Nunnis

Hay trix, tryme go trix, &c.

Of lait⁶ I saw thir lymmaris⁶ stand,
Lyke mad men at mischeif,
Thinking⁶ to get the vpper hand,
Thay⁷ luke efter releif,⁷
Bot all in vaine, go tell thame⁷ plaine,
That day will neuer be.

Hay trix, tryme go trix, &c.

O Jesu!⁸ gif thay thocht greit glie,⁹
To sé Goddis¹⁰ word downe smorit,

The

¹ So A. B.; Parson, they were, Viccar, thocht, D.

² A.; haue, B. D.

³ A. D.; Behuiffit, als, B.

⁴ A. B.; many, Parish Priest, D.

⁵ A. B.; friers, limmery, Monks, Fryday, D.

⁶ A. B.; late, limmers, Thinkand, D.

⁷ A. B.; They, after relief, them, D.

⁸ A. D.; Jesus, B.

⁹ A. B.; they thought grit glee, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; see, Gods, D.

The Congregatioun maid to flie,¹
 Hypocrisie ² restorit,¹
 With Messis sung and bellis rung,
 To thair Idolatrie ;
 Marie,³ God thank zow,³ we sall gar brank zow,³
 Befoir³ that tyme trewlie.³

¶ F I N I S.

SAY weill is throuchlie⁴ a worthy gude⁵ thing,
 Of say weill greit vertew furth dois⁴ spring,
 Say weill from do weill differis⁴ in letter,
 Say weill is gude, bot do weill is better.

Say weill is repute be man sum deale,
 Bot do weill onlie⁶ to God dois⁴ appeale,
 Say weill⁷ sayis Godlie,⁷ and dois mony⁶ please,
 Bot do weill⁷ leuis⁷ Godlie, and dois this⁷ warld ease.

Say weill, mony vnto Goddis⁸ word cleuis,
 Bot for lack of do weill, it quickly leuis,
 Bot if⁹ say weill & do weill war ioynit¹⁰ in a frame,
 All war¹⁰ done, all war¹⁰ won, gottin war¹⁰ the game.

Say weill in danger of deith is cauld,¹¹
 Do weill is harnessit,¹² and wounderis¹² bauld,¹¹
 Than say weill, for feir, sall trembill¹³ and quaik,¹¹
 Do weill salbe iocund, and Ioly cheir¹³ make.¹³

¹ So A. B.; made to flee, restored, D.

² A. D.; Hypocresie, B.

³ A. B.; Mary, you, Before, trewly, D.

⁴ A. B.; throughly, does, differs, D.

⁵ A. D.; *gude* omitted, B.

⁶ A. B.; only, mony does, D.

⁷ A. B.; well, godly, liues, does *the*, D.

⁸ A. B.; Be saying weill mony to Gods, D.

⁹ A.; gif, B. D.

¹⁰ A. B.; ioynt, were, gotten were, D.

¹¹ A. B.; cald, bald, quake, D.

¹² A.; harnessit, B.; harneist, D.; wondrous, B. D.

¹³ A.; trimbill, mak, B.; jolly cheere, D.

Say weill is slipper¹ and makis¹ mony wylis,¹
 Do weill is semelie,² without ony gylis,¹
 Quhen say weill at sumtymes salbe brocht³ base,
 Do weill sall triumph⁴ in euerie³ place.

Say weill, to silence sumtyme⁵ is bound,
 Do weill is fré⁵ in euerie³ stound,
 Say weill hes freindis,⁶ baith heir and thair,⁶
 Bot do weill is welcum euerie quhair.⁶

Say weill mony thingis⁷ in hand dois tak,⁷
 Do weill ane end of thame dois mak,⁷
 Quhan⁸ say weill with mony is quyte doun⁸ cast,
 Do weill is trustie and will stand fast.

Say weill him self will sumtyme⁹ auance,
 Bot do weill dois nouthet iet⁹ nor prounce,¹⁰
 Bot do weill dois proffite¹¹ this world moir
 Than¹² say weill and his ane hundreth scoir.

Say weill in wordis¹² is wonderous¹³ trick,
 Bot do weill in deidis¹² is nimbill¹² and quick,
 Lord, quick and trick togidder¹² knit,
 And sa sall they pipe a merie¹³ fit.

Say weill mony will, thay¹⁴ be sa kinde,
 Bot do weill few will, vnto thaire freinde:¹⁴
 Ma¹⁵ say weill then do weill, I tell zow in deid,
 Bot do weill is mair honest in tyme of neid.

¶ F I N I S.

¹ So A. B.; slippar, makes, wyles, gyles, D. ² A.; semely, B.; seemely, D.

³ A. B.; broght, euery, D.

⁴ A. D.; tryumphe, B.

⁵ A. B.; sumtime, free, D.

⁶ A. B.; friends, heere and there, welcome everywhere, D.

⁷ A. B.; many things, does take, does make, D.

⁸ A.; Quhen, downe, B. D.

⁹ A. B.; sometime, sect, D.

¹⁰ A.; prance, D.; paunce, B.

¹¹ A.; profite, B.; does profit, D.

¹² A. B.; Then, words, deeds, nimble, together, D.

¹³ A.; wondrous, B. D.; mirrie, B.; merry, D.

¹⁴ A. B.; thay omitted, D.; their friend, D.

¹⁵ A.; May, B. D.

KNAW ze¹ not God Omnipotent,
 He creat¹ man, and maid¹ him fré,¹
 Quhill he brak¹ his commandement,
 And eit of the forbiddin² tré;
 Had not that blissit bairne³ bene borne,
 Sin to redres,
 Lowreis, zour⁴ lyues had been forlorne,
 For all zour Mes.

Sen we ar⁵ all to Sin maid¹ sure,
 Throw Adamis⁶ Inobedience;
 (Saif⁷ Christ), thair⁶ was na Creature,
 Maid¹ Sacrifice for our offence;
 Thair⁶ is na Sanct may saif⁷ zour Saule,⁵
 Fra ze⁶ transgres,
 Suppose⁷ Sanct Peter and Sanct Paule⁵
 Had baith said Mes.

Knawing thair is na Christ bot ane,
 Quhilk rent was on the Rude with roddis,⁸
 Quhy gif⁹ ze gloir⁹ to stock and stane,
 In wirschipping⁹ of vther Goddis?⁸
 Thir Idolis,⁹ that on Altaris⁹ standis,⁸
 Ar fenzeitnes,
 Ze¹ gat not God amang zour handis,⁸
 Mumling zour Mes.

And sen na Sanct zour Saule⁵ may saif,¹⁰
 Perchance ze¹ will speir at me than,
 How may the Paip thir¹⁰ Pardounis¹¹ haif,¹⁰

¹ So A. B.; ye, create, made, free, brake, D.

² A.; forbidden, B. D.

³ A. D.; barne, B.

⁴ A. B.; Lowries, your, D.

⁵ A.; war, B.; were, D.; saull, Paull, B. D.

⁶ A. B.; Adams, there, the, D.

⁷ A. D.; saue, suppois, B.

⁸ A. B.; rods, gods, stands, hands, D.

⁹ A.; worschipping, idoles, alteris, B.; geve, glore, worshipping, idols, altars, D.

¹⁰ A. D.; saue, thair, haue, B.

¹¹ A. B.; pardons, D.

With power baith of beist and man?
 Throw na thing bot ane Fenzeit Faith
 For halynes:
 Inuentit wayis¹ to get thame graith,
 Lyke as the Mes.¹

Of mariage ze maid zow quyte,²
 Thinking it thraldome to refraine:
 Wanting of wyffis³ is appetyte,²
 That curage mycht⁴ increas againe;
 Thay hony lippis⁴ ze did persew,
 Grew gall, I ges,
 Thinking it was contritioun⁴ trew,
 To dance ane Mes.

Gif⁵ God was maid of bittis⁶ of breid,
 Eit ze not ouklike⁷ sax or seuin,
 As it had bene⁶ ane mortall feid,
 Quhill ze had almaist heryit heuin;
 Als mony Deuillis⁶ ze man deuoir,⁶
 Quhill hell grow les;
 Or doutles we dar not restoir⁶
 Zow to zour Mes.

Gif⁵ God be transsubstanciall⁸
 In breid, with *hoc est Corpus Meum*,
 Quhy war⁹ ze sa vnnaturall,
 As tak him in zour teith,⁹ and sla him,
 Tripartit and deuydit⁹ him,
 At zour dum dres?⁹

Bot

¹ So A. B.; Invented wayes, Mas, D. ² A. B.; made you quite, appetite, D.

³ A.; wyffis, B.; wyfis, D. ⁴ A. B.; courage might, lips, contrition, D.

⁵ A. D.; giue, B.

⁶ A. B.; made of bits, beene, deuils, deuoure, nocht restore, D.

⁷ A.; ouklike, B.; owkely, D.

⁸ A.; transsubstanciall, B. D.

⁹ A. B.; are, To take him in your teeth, deuided, dresse, D.

Bot God knawis how ze gydit him,
Mumling zour Mes.¹

Ze partit² with dame Pouertie,²
Tuke Propertie² to be zour wyfe;²
Fra Charitie² and Chais[ti]tie,²
With Lichorie³ ze led zour lyfe:²
That raisit the mother of mischeif,⁴
Zour gredines,⁴
Beleuing ay to get releif,⁴
For saying Mes.

O wickit⁵ vaine Veneriens,
Ze ar not Sanctis⁵ (thocht⁵ ze seem hally,⁶)
Proude, Poysonit⁵ Epecuriens,
Quhilk had na God bot zour awin bellie.⁷
Beleue ze, lownis,⁷ the Lord allowis⁷
Zour Idilnes?⁷
Lang or the sweit cum ouer zour browis,⁷
For saying Mes.

Had not zour self begun the weiris,
Zour stepillis⁸ had bene standand zit:
It was the flattering of zour Freiris,⁸
That euer gart Sanct Francis⁹ flit.
Ze grew sa superstitious
In wickitnes,⁸
It gart vs grow malicious,
Contrair zour Mes.

¹ A. B.; Messe, *and so to the end*, D.

² So A. B.; parted, pouerty, property, wife, charity, chastity, life, D.

³ A.; lichorie, B.; lechery, D. ⁴ A. B.; mischief, greedinesse, relief, D.

⁵ A. B.; wicked, noght sancts, thogh, poysoned, D.

⁶ A.; haly, B. D. ⁷ A. B.; belly, lownes, allowes, idlenesse, browes, D.

⁸ A. B.; stepills, Friers, wickednesse, D. ⁹ A. D.; Frances, B.

Our Bischoppis¹ ar degenerate,
 (Thocht thay be mountit vpon Mulis),¹
 With huredome clene effeminate,
 And Freiris¹ oft tymes preuis fulis;¹
 For Dustifit, and bob at euin,
 Do sa Incres,²
 Hes dreuin² sum of thame to tein,³
 For all thair Mes.²

Christ keip all Faithful Christianis⁴
 From peruerst pryde and Papistrie;⁵
 God grant thame⁶ trew Intelligens⁵
 Of his law, word, and veritie;⁵
 God grant thay⁶ may thair life⁶ amend,
 Syne blis posses,⁶
 Throw Faith on⁷ Christ all that depend,
 And nocht⁷ on Mes.²

Sen⁸ Mes² is na thing ellis⁸ to say,
 Bot ane wickit Inuentioun,⁸
 Without authoritie,⁸ or stay
 Of Scripture, or fundatioun,⁸
 Gif Kingis⁹ wald Mes² to Rome hens dryue,⁹
 With haistines,⁹
 Suld be the meane to haue belyue
 Ane end of Mes.²

❧ F I N I S.

¹ So A. B.; *Your* Bishops, mounted upon mules, Friers, preeuis fules, D.

² A. B.; increse, driuen, their Messe, D.

³ A. D.; teine, B.

⁴ A. B.; Christ keep faithfull Christians, *omitting* all, D.

⁵ A. B.; papistry, true intelligence, verity, D.

⁶ A. B.; them, they, their life, blisse possesse, D.

⁷ A. B.; *in*, noght, D.

⁸ A. B.; Syn, els, wicked invention, authority, foundation, D.

⁹ A. B.; kings, hence driue, hastinesse, D.

WAS not Salomon, the King,
 To miserie ² be wemen brocht? ²
 Quhilk wisdome out of frame did bring,
 Till he maist wickitly ² had wrought. ²
 A thousand wemen he did keip,
 Allace, allace! ²
 Quhilk drownit him in Sin sa deip,
 As come to pas.

Was not Paris, maist wickitly
 Be Venus, led to Helenis lust?
 For quhilk sin and adulterie, ³
 The plagues of Troy war efter ³ Just.
 The sturdie stormis ³ he did indure:
 Allace, allace! ²
 His lusting lyfe ⁴ was na thing ⁴ sure,
 As come to pas.

Thocht ⁵ Troylus Cressed did enjoy,
 As Paris Helene did lykewise; ⁵
 Zit leuit he not ⁶ lang in Troy,
 Bot that Fortoun ⁶ did him dispise. ⁶
 Quha ⁷ wald then wirk accordinglie? ⁷
 Allace, allace! ²
 Sic plesoure ⁸ bringis miserie, ⁷
 As come to pas.

Thocht ⁵ Ouid feyne, that Leander
 Aduentrit ⁹ mekle, ¹⁰ his lufe to gayne:

¹ A.; dissuatioun, B.; dissuasion, D.

² So A. B.; misery, women broght, wickedly, wrought, Alace, alace, through-
 out, D.

³ A. B.; adultery, were after, stormes, D.

⁴ A. B.; *wife*, nothing, D.

⁵ A. B.; Thogh, was (*sic*) likewise, D.

⁶ A. B.; liued he noght, fortune, despise, D.

⁷ A. B.; Wha, work accordingly, brings misery, D.

⁸ A.; plesure, B. D.

⁹ A.; Aduenerit, B.; Adventured, D.

¹⁰ A.; mekill, B.; meekill, D.

Zit dois the Poet Menander¹
 Aduertise vs for to refraine;
 For lusting lyfe is nathing stayde,²
 Allace, allace!
 Ilk man thairfoir may be afrayde,²
 Quhilk is bot gras.³

Quhat sall we say to Pyramus?⁴
 Sic wratchit⁵ wo did him assaill,
 His end in deid was dolorus,⁴
 Quhen fulische⁶ frensie did preuail.
 Quhat⁶ wyse man wald his fact commend?⁷
 Allace, allace!
 Quhilk⁶ brocht his lyfe vnto ane end,
 As come to pas.⁶

Thocht Hercules, for Exionie,⁷
 A mychtie⁷ monster did subdew,
 Zit endit he⁷ in miserie,
 Gif poetis faining⁸ may be trew.
 His minsing mate Abderitus,
 Allace, allace!
 A⁹ deith sustenit meruellus,⁹
 As come to pas.⁶

Anaxaretis¹⁰ sum do say,
 Entisit¹¹ Iphis outwardlie:
 And than¹² withdrew hir lufe¹² away,
 And he him self slew wilfullie.
 Traist the vntraistie quha that will,
 Allace

¹ So A. B.; Zet does the poet *Meander*, D.

² A.; stayed, afrayed, B.; stayd, afraide, D.

³ A. B.; grace, D.

⁴ A. B.; Paramours, dolorous, D.

⁵ A.; wratchit, B.; wratched, D.

⁶ A. B.; When foolish, What, Whilke, *passe*, and so to end, D.

⁷ A. B.; Erjonye, mightie, yet ended hee, D.

⁸ A. B.; poets fayning, D.

⁹ A.; Ane, B. D.; meruellous, B.; maruellous, D.

¹⁰ A.; Anaxaretus, B.; Anaretus, D.

¹¹ A.; Entised, B.; Entysed, D.

¹² A. B.; then, her loue, D.

Allace, allace !
 For sic myself I will not kill,
 As his lufe¹ was.

Thocht Jupiter transformit² him,
 Alcumena to³ defile ;
 The fenzeit Goddis thay scornit⁴ him
 For lyke offence, within a quhile.⁴
 For quhen⁴ he lay in Venus lap,
 Allace, allace !
 Vulcanus tuke him in a trap,
 As come to pas.⁴

Thus beutie⁵ breidis⁵ bitternes,⁶
 And bringis⁵ baill to mony men :
 Quha is led be willfulness,⁶
 Sall feill the force of beutie⁵ then.
 For sum⁷ being takin⁷ in the traine,
 Allace, allace !
 Ar⁷ led to penurie and paine,
 As come to pas.⁴

Thocht Cato, Prince of prudent price,
 In welthie stait⁸ did lang remaine :
 Zit⁹ be the chance of Fortounis dice,⁹
 Mekle⁸ miserie he did sustaine.
 His weddit wife⁹ did wirk him wo ;
 Allace, allace !
 Mekle mair thir beistis, quhilk cum and go,¹⁰
 Pas and repas.¹⁰

¹ So A. B.; *lust*, D. ² A. B.; transformed, D. ³ A. D.; *for* to, B.

⁴ A. B.; goddess they scorned, while, when, came to passe, D.

⁵ A.; bewtie, B. D.; breides, B.; breids, brings, D.

⁶ A. B.; bitterness, wilfulness, D. ⁷ A. B.; some, taken, are, D.

⁸ A.; state, mekill, B. D. ⁹ A. B.; Yet, Fortunes dyce, wedded wife, D.

¹⁰ A. B.; whilk come and goe, Passe and repasse, D.

Tiberius, the Empriour,
 Be¹ his wyffis¹ greit adulterie,
 Loste his pomp and puissant power,
 Ending his lyfe in miserie.
 Cheis weill, thairfor, leist ze do say¹
 Allace, allace !
 Lat thir and vther,² at this day,
 Be as thy glas.²

Althocht Marcus Antonius
 Was sene³ in Cosmographia,
 Zit³ was his end maist dolorus,³
 Be that fals harlot³ Faustina.
 Tak⁴ heid, thairfoir,⁴ of this be war ;
 Allace, allace !
 Be thow not snairde⁴ in Venus snair,⁴
 In ony case.⁴

Althocht Sextus Tarquinius
 Defylit⁵ chaist Lucretia,
 He and his father Superbus
 From Rome wer banischit⁵ away.
 A⁶ Just reward for sic⁶ offence :
 Allace, allace !
 Lyke punischement,⁶ for lyke offence,
 Oft cumis⁷ to pas.

Thocht subtill Sardanapalus
 A Prince was⁷ picht, to reule⁸ and Regne ;⁸
 Zit war⁷ his factis sa lichorus,⁹
 That

¹ So A. B.; By, wives, yee doe, omitting *say*, D. ² A. B.; vthers, glasse, D.

³ A. B.; seene, yet, most dolorous, false harlet, D.

⁴ A. B.; Take, therefore, Bee thou not snared, snare, cace, D.

⁵ A. B.; Defyled, were banished, D. ⁶ A. B.; Ane, like, punishment, D.

⁷ A.; cummis, B.; comes, were, D. ⁸ A.; rewle, reigne, B.; rule, reigne, D.

⁹ A.; licharus, B.; factes so lecherous, D.

That euerie man mycht sé thame ¹ plaine.
 At Babilone ² he did desyre,
 Allace, allace !
 To set the haill Castell on fyre,
 Quhair ¹ brunt he was.

Ptholomeus Philopater,
 The mychtie ³ king of Egypt land,
 Being ⁴ a mychtie Conquerer,³
 His lust vnto a wenche did stand.
 His weddit wyfe ⁴ he put to deith :
 Allace, allace !
 Thus Princes oft do ⁵ spend thair braith
 As come to pas.⁵

Phisco, lykewise, the lichorus,⁶
 Quhilk ⁷ Children be his sisteris ⁷ had ;
 That gat Heliogabalus,
 Quhais ⁷ lyfe in lust was spent tó bad,⁷
 Defyling maide and wyfe also :
 Allace, allace !
 Harlottis ⁷ with him mycht ⁷ ryde ⁷ and go,⁷
 Quhair ¹ he did pas.

Althocht Caius Caligula
 All his awin Sisteris did defyle :⁸
 And thocht ⁸ himself in quyet stay,
 Possessing plesour ⁹ for ane quhile.⁸
 Zit his men did his deith conspyre :
 Allace, allace !

¹ So A. B.; might see them, where, D.

² A.; Babylon, B. D.

³ A. B.; mighty, conqueror, D.

⁴ A. B.; Beand, weded wife, D.

⁵ A. B.; oftims, came to passe, D.

⁶ A.; lychorus, B.; lecherous, D.

⁷ A. B.; Whilke, sister, Quhaes, too bad, Harlots, might ride, goe, D.

⁸ A. B.; owne sisters did defile, thought, while, D.

⁹ A.; plesure, B.; pleasure, D.

This ratchit¹ man he had his hyre,
As come to pas.¹

¶ *Exemplis² takin out of the Bybill.*

WITH Bybill materis³ to begin,
Historyis mony³ we may find :
How lusting lufe, that laithsum sin,³
The oppin eyis of sum³ do blind :
Thocht⁴ Sicheм Dina had defylde,⁴
Allace, allace !⁴
Baith he and Heymor war begylde,
As come to pas.¹

Did not daintie Dalilay
The mychtie⁵ Sampson bring to nocht ?⁶
Quhen⁶ he his secreit heid did wray,
In Venus snair⁶ scho⁶ had him caught :⁶
Did not Apamé in lyke case,
Allace, allace !⁴
Straike that greit king vpon the face ?
As come to pas.

Thocht Amon did his mynde fulfill
Upon his sister Thamar deir,
Zit⁷ Absolon his blude did spill,
Schortlie⁸ efter, as dois appeir.⁷
Thocht Daud was the Lordis⁷ elect,
Allace, allace !⁴

With

¹ So A.; wretched, B.; wretched, came to passe, so throughout, D.

² A. ; Exempillis, B.; Exampils, D.

³ A. B.; matters, Histories many, lothsum sinne, open eyes of some, D.

⁴ A. B.; Though, defilde, Alace, alace, D. ⁵ A.; michtie, B.; mighty, D.

⁶ A. B.; nought, When, snars, shee, caught, D.

⁷ A. B.; Yet, does appeare, Lords, D. ⁸ A.; schortly, B.; shortly, D.

With Bethsabe¹ he was infect,
As come to pas.

Thocht Holofernes lustit¹ lang,
To haif² to do in³ Judethis bed,
His lusting lufe² did happin³ wrang,
And scho³ did sone³ stryke of³ his heid.³
Quhat⁴ wyne and women⁴ do zow sé;⁴
Allace, allace!⁴
Walk and wander with modestie,
In ony case.⁴

Thocht Judas did with Thamar ly,
Quhilk⁵ was his dochter⁵ be the Law:
The Genesis dois testifie
Just Josephis⁵ gude and godlie aw,
Quhen⁶ his Lordis⁶ wyfe wald⁶ him constraine,
Allace, allace!⁴
He maid⁶ hir purpose halely⁷ vaine,
As come to pas.

Of him lat vs exempill⁸ tak,⁹
And neuer think on Cupides dart:
Venus can nouthar mar nor mak,⁹
Gif vnto God we ioyne our hart;⁹
And leif this art¹⁰ of langing lust,
Allace, allace!⁴
And in the Lord baith¹⁰ hope and trust,
Quhilk⁵ is and was.

❧ F I N I S.

¹ So A. B.; Bethsaba, Holofernus lusted, D.

² A.; haue, B. D.; lyfe, B.; life, D.

³ A. B.; doe on, happen, shee, soone, off, head, D.

⁴ A. B.; What, woman, see, Alace, alace, any cace, D.

⁵ A. B.; Whilke, doughter, Josephs, D.

⁶ A. B.; When, Lords, would, made, D.

⁷ A.; haillely, B. D.

⁸ A.; exampill, B.; example, D.

⁹ A. B.; take, make, heart, D.

¹⁰ A.; airt, haue, B. D.

ALL my lufe, leif me¹ not,
 Leif me not, leif me not,
 All my lufe, leif me¹ not,
 This² myne allone :³
 With ane burding on my bak,
 I may not beir it, I am sa waik ;
 Lufe,¹ this burding³ fra² me tak,¹
 Or ellis¹ I am gone.

With Sinnis⁴ I am laidnit⁵ soir,
 Leif me not, leif me not,
 With Sinnis⁴ I am laidnit⁵ soir,
 Leif me not allone :³
 I pray thé,⁴ Lord, thairfoir,⁴
 Keip nocht⁶ my Sinnis in stoir,⁴
 Louse⁶ me, or I be forloir,⁴
 And heir my mone.

With thy handis⁷ thow⁷ hes me wrocht,
 Leif me not, leif me not,
 With thy handis thow⁷ hes me wrocht,
 Leif me not allone :
 I was sauld, and thow me⁷ bocht,
 With thy blude thow hes me⁷ coft,
 Now am I hidder socht
 To thé,⁸ Lord, allone.

I cry, and I call to thé,⁸
 To leif me not, to leif me not,
 I cry, and I call to thé,⁸
 To

¹ So A. B.; loue leife mee, take, else, D.

² A.; Thus, from, B. D.

³ A. D.; alone, burden, B. ⁴ A. B.; sinnes, thee, therefore, store, forlorne, D.

⁵ A.; laidin, B.; laden, D.

⁶ A.; not, Lowse, B. D.

⁷ A. B.; hands, thou, mee, D.

⁸ A. B.; thee, D.

To leif me not allone :
 All thay that laidnit¹ be,
 Thow biddis thame cum to thé,²
 Than² sall thay sauit be,²
 Throw thy mercy allone.

Thow saifis³ all the penitent,
 And leifis thame⁴ not, and leifis thame⁴ not,
 Thow saifis all the penitent,
 And leifis thame⁴ not allone :
 All that will thair Sinnis⁴ repent,
 Nane of thame salbe schent ;⁵
 Suppose thy bow be reddy bent,⁵
 Of thame thow killis⁵ none.

Faith, hope, and cheritie,⁶
 Leif me not, leif me not,
 Faith, hope, and cheritie,⁶
 Leif me not allone ;
 I pray thé, Lord, grant me
 Thir godly giftis thré,⁶
 Than⁶ sall I sauit be,⁶
 Dout haif⁷ I none.

To the Father be all gloir,⁸
 That leifis⁴ vs not, that leifis⁴ vs not,
 To the Father be all gloir,⁸
 That leifis⁴ vs not allone,
 Sone and haly Gaist⁹ euer moir,⁸
 As it was of befoir,⁸

¹ So A.; ladin, B.; laden, D.

² A. B.; biddes them come to thee, Then, they saued bee, D.

³ A.; saues, B. D.

⁴ A. B.; leifes them, their sinnes, D.

⁵ A. B.; sall be shent, bee readie bent, thou killes, D.

⁶ A. B.; Charitie, giftes three, Then, saued bee, D.

⁷ A.; haue, B. D.

⁸ A. B.; glore, more, before, D.

⁹ A. B.; Sonne and Haly Ghost, D.

Throw Christ our Sauour
We ar saif euerie one.

¶ F I N I S.

WELCUM, Fortoun,¹ welcum againe,
The day and hour I may weill blis,
Thow hes exilit all my paine,
Quhilk to my hart greit plesour is.

For I may say, that few men may,
Seing of paine I am drest,
I haif obtenit all my pay,
The lufe of hir that I lufe best.

I knaw nane sic as scho is one,
Sa trew, sa kynde, sa luiffandlie,
Quhat suld I do, an scho war gone?
Allace ! zit had I leuer die.

To me scho is baith trew and kynde,
Worthie it war scho had the praise,
For na disdaine in hir I find,
I pray to God I may hir pleis.

Quhen that I heir hir name exprest,
My hart for Ioy dois loup thairfoir,
Abufe all vther I lufe hir best,
Unto I die, quhat wald scho moir ?

¶ F I N I S.

Of course there are no various readings of this song, which was condemned, and ordered to be deleted out of the end of the Psalme Book, by the General Assembly in 1568, and was so thoroughly suppressed, that it remained quite unknown till the discovery, in 1867, of the copy here reprinted.



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¶ Finis Tabule.



APPENDIX

APPENDIX I.

'Ballates' added in subsequent Editions.

¶ *Of the day of iudgement.*

ALL Christin and faithfull, in hart be ioyfull,
Reioyce and mak gude cheir,
Be merie and glaid, and be no moir fad,
The day of the Lord drawis neir.

Vnder proteftatioun, with line and correctioun
That nane be offendit heir,
I will speik planelie, to rais 3our hartis quiklie,
The day of the Lord drawis neir.

All Paipis and prelatis, and spirituell estaitis,
That thinkis 3e haue na peir,
Cast away 3our wairis, 3our princelie effairis,
The day of the Lord drawis neir.

O hirdis of Ifrael, heir 3e the Lordis bell,
Knelland fast in 3our eir,
Quhilk biddis in plaine, leue 3our triffillis vane,
The day of the Lord drawis neir.

Perfonis, that hes cure to preiche vnto the pure,
3e haue 3our waigis tó deir,
The layit 3e will not teiche, nor 3it goddis word will preiche,
The day of the Lord drawis neir.

I will 3ow exhort, in termis richt schort,
 Baith Preift, Channoun, Monk, and Freir,
 To flaik of 3our fleuth, & schaw furth the treuth,
 The day of the Lord drawis neir.

And 3e brethren all, Ecclesiasticall,
 Serue 3our Lord God in feir,
 Leue 3our ceremonyis of 3our awin fund gyis,
 The day of the Lord drawis neir.

3our coiftlie reparationis, 3our offeringis and oblatiounis,
 3our curious notis in the queir,
 On the day of dreid, fall stand in litill steid,
 Quhen the Lordis fentence drawis neir.

Princes and Kingis, that fa Ryall Ringis,
 That fuld haue all rewle and steir,
 Do Iustice equall, baith to greit and fmall,
 The day of the Lord drawis neir.

On the pure commounis suffer na oppreffiounis,
 Bot humblie thair plaintis heir,
 With extreme Iustice, trespaffouris punifche,
 The day of the Lord drawis neir.

Syne with 3our fword, let furth Goddis word,
 Our heuinly Mirrouir cleir,
 And anker 3ow fure on haly Scripture,
 For the day of the Lord drawis neir.

Erlis, Lordis, and Barrounis, hurt not 3our commounis
 In body, gudis, nor geir :
 Do 3e the contrair, 3our housis will misfair,
 The day of the Lord drawis neir.

Be trew to the Crowne defend 3our Regioun,
 That 3our foirbearis coft fa deir,
 And euer haue Eye, vnto 3our libertie,
 The day of the Lord drawis neir.

I cry in generall, on Spirituall & Temporall,
 This lection that 3e leir :
 Remember alwayis, that fchort be 3our dayis,
 The day of the Lord drawis neir.

That day fall horribill be and eik terribill,
 Quhen that Iuft Iudge fall appeir :
 In his birnand Ire, to iudge the warld with fyre,
 The day of the Lord drawis neir.

At ane Trumpet blaft, we fall be all agaft,
 Heuin, hell, eird fall it heir,
 Syne stand befor the Iuge, without ony refuge,
 The day of the Lord drawis neir.

We fall giue rekning, of our finfull leuing,
 We haue fpendit in all maneir,
 As we haue deferuit, fa fall we be feruit,
 The day of the Lord drawis neir.

That day the faithfull falbe richt Ioyfull,
 Befoir Chrift quhen thay compeir,
 Bot the vnfaithfull falbe richt wofull,
 Quhen the Lordis fentence drawis neir.

To vnbeleuaris all this fentence giue he fall,
 With Ire and awfull cheir,
 Pas 3e to the hell, with Deuillis to dwell,
 The heuin 3e fall neuer cum neir.

The Iust fall all stand, euin at his richt hand,
 Defendit from all dangeir,
 To quhome he fall say, richt sweitly that day,
 The sentence quhilk drawis neir.

Cum heir my Elect, and my awin fweit Sect,
 3our hyre fall not be in weir,
 Baith Saull and body, in heuin Eternallie,
 Thay fall dwell with me richt neir.

Quhairfoir I do call on all men mortall,
 To ryis and be neuer fweir,
 Bot euer bewar of the wofull fnair,
 The day of the Lord drawis neir.

Awalk ay and pray, baith in nicht and day,
 To Christ, that coft vs all deir,
 To be our mediatour in that feirfull hour,
 Quhen the day of the Lord drawis neir.

F I N I S.

BLENK in this Mirrour, man, and mend,
 For heir thow may thy exempill fé,
 To all mankynde it is weill kend,
 That euer come hidder, that he mon die,
 And fra this dome he may not flé,
 Suppois he haue land and gold to spend;
 Array 3ow all, and reddy be,
 Blenk in this Mirrour, man, and mend.

Heir is the reffoun quha lykis to reid,
 This day thow was ane King with Croun,
 The morne cummis deith withouttin dreid,
 Commandis thé to his prefoun,

Richt suddanely he drawis thé doun
Thow wait that thow mon with him wend ;
Thairfoir, leif weill, be reddy bowne,
Blenk in this Mirrour, man, and mend.

Thair is nane in flait fa hie,
Prince, King, nor Empreour,
Fra this dome ane fute may flé,
For all his gold, and his valour ;
Thairfoir thow blenk in this Mirrour,
That is gracioufflie to thé fend,
Think on the fweit and als the four,
Blenk in this Mirrour, man, and mend.

Behald now to thir men of nicht,
That mekill hes, and wald haue mair,
And to thair fembling tak gude ficht,
How that thay pas away fa bair.
And fet not by how that we fair,
That winnis all that thay spend,
Richt bufilie baith lait and air,
Blenk in this Mirrour, man, and mend.

Sen thow wait that thow mon pas,
And thow wait nouthier quhen nor quhair,
And thy body fall turne in Affe,
That thow now feidis vp fa fair,
Confes thy finnis, les and mair,
Vnto thy God, or thow hyne wend,
And till him leyne for euer mair,
Blenk in this Mirrour, man, and mend.

F I N I S.

O MAN, ryfe vp, and be not fweir,
 Prepair aganis this gude new 3eir
 My new 3eir gift thow hes in floir,
 Sen I am he that coft thé deir,
 Gif me thy hart, I ask no moir.

Gif me thy hart, for I fuld haue it
 It is my richt, thairfoir I craif it,
 To win the famin I sufferit foir,
 And now am ready to reffaue it,
 Gif me thy hart, I ask no moir.

I am the Lord maid thé of nocht
 Lyke my awin Image hes thé wrocht.
 Thé to all frelage I did restoir,
 Sen my hart blude thy hart hes bocht,
 Gif me thy hart, I ask no moir.

I come in eirth, and thair did dwell,
 I fend na meffage bot my fell :
 Thé to releif of deidly foir,
 Sen I haue fréed thé from the hell,
 Gif me thy hart, I ask no moir.

I haue thé fréed from all thirlage,
 And hes preparit thyne heritage,
 Quhair deith fall neuer thé deuoir,
 And now am cummin to craif my wage,
 Gif me thy hart, I ask no moir.

Bewar, I am ane Ielous God,
 I am na Image, flock nor wod ;
 Thairfoir giue nane of thay my gloir,
 Sen I to heuin mon be the rod,
 Gif me thy hart, I ask no moir.

Let be thy sculptill honouris vaine,
 Quhilkis ar confoundit and prophaine,
 And swa ar all dois them adoir,
 As testifyis Daud in Scripture plaine,
 Gif me thy hart, I ask no moir.

Sen this last 3eir thow hes offendit,
 Contrair my Law thy lyfe hes spendit,
 My mercy is reddy 3it, as of befoir,
 In this new 3eir all may be amendit,
 Gif me thy hart, I ask no moir.

F I N I S.

O MAN, Behald this warldis vaniteis,
 The Ioy of it I wait is fantasie,
 Thairfoir bewar, my counfell now it is,
 Be glaid in God, for doutles thow mon die.

Think thow art cum, & wait not quhen to pas,
 Think thow mon change, & wait not quhair to be,
 Think quhy thow come, & quhat thy erand was,
 Be weill auysit, for doutles thow mon die.

Auise thé weill, quhill thow hes tyme & space,
 Exempill tak daylie, as thow may fé,
 Quhen deith cummis thair is na vther grace,
 Bot 3eild thé than, for doutles thow mon die.

3eild thé to God, with humbill hart contrite,
 In Cheritie lufe, as thow wald lufit be,
 Gif thow wald leif without this warldis despite
 Remember on this, for doutles thow mon die.

Remember vpon thy God Omnipotent,
That is and was, and euer moir falbe,
And for thy fin he faikleflie was fchent,
Be kynde againe, for doutles thow mon die.

Be kynde againe for heuin Celestiall,
Quhair gloir and Ioy without end fall be,
Be kynde, and dreid the cruell paine of hell,
Cheis thee the ane, for doutles thow mon die.

F I N I S.

SEN throw vertew Increffis dignitie,
And vertew is flour and rute of Nobles ay,
Of ony wit or quhat eftait thow be,
His steppis follow, and dreid for none effray :
Eiect vice, and follow treuth alway,
Lufe maist thy God, that firft thy lufe began,
And for ilk Inche he will quyte thé ane span.

Be not our proude in thy prosperitie,
For as it cummis, fa will it pas away,
The tyme to compt is fchort, thou may weill fé,
For of grene gres fone cummis wallowit hay,
Labour in treuth, quhilk fuith is of thy fay,
Traift maist in God, for he beft gyde thé can,
And for ilk Inche he will thé quyte ane span.

Sen word is thrall, and thocht is only fré,
Thow dant thy toung, that power hes and may,
Thow steik thy Ene fra warldis vanitie,
Refraine thy luft, and harkin quhat I fay,

Graip or thow flyde, and keip furth the hie way,
Thow hald thé fast vpon thy God and man,
And for ilk Inche he will thé quyte ane span.

F I N I S.

¶ *Quod King Iames the first.*

APPENDIX II.

NOTES ON THE HYMNS AND SONGS.

P. 1. *The Prologue*.—This gives in briefest form what is set forth at greater length in the *Vorreden* of many of the German *Gesangbücher*, as may be seen from the collection of them appended to Wackernagel's 'Bibliographie.' The concluding sentences in the preface to the Danish 'Psalmebog' of 1530, however, to me seem to approach nearer in expression and meaning to those of this Prologue than any that have struck me in looking over Wackernagel's collection. I give these sentences as translated for me by my good friend the principal librarian of the University of St Andrews:—

"To the end that God's Word and Gospel might thereby be diligently furthered and advanced to us all, as a spiritual comfort; thereby hoping that one result would be, that dissolute, sinful, and indecent impure songs (which are source and ground of much sin and uncleanness) might be put away and suppressed, which are (alas!) now very common, and that children and young people might now instead be won over to learn psalms and spiritual songs, which are a beginning and root of all holiness, virtue, and goodness, and not to sing them merely outwardly with the mouth but also inwardly with the heart, deriving therefrom a good amendment; so that Christ alone might be our song of praise, and that we should know nothing else to sing or speak of than Christ Jesus our Saviour alone. Thereto may God the Father give and grant us all together His grace. Amen."

It was not only among the common people that such wanton songs as those mentioned in the Prologue were largely patronised, but by the higher classes too; and even at the Court of the Virgin Queen of England, and, Ritson will have it,¹ also at the Court of "the Virgin King Edward Sixth," they were too much favoured by the courtiers, and he says that one of the reasons of Sternhold being urged to translate the Psalms of David was to counteract the evils resulting from the circulation and singing of the other class of songs.

The various readings of B. and D. given at the foot of the pages were originally taken from Mr Laing's and Sir J. G. Dalzell's reprints, but before the text was printed off the most ample facilities were kindly given me by the authorities of the Advocates' Library for comparing the text of Sir J. G. Dalzell's reprint with the original

¹ Ancient Songs and Ballads, pp. lxxxi, lxxxix, vol. i. ed. 1829.

copy in their Library, and correcting the few slips made in his reprint. It was not till after the text was printed off, and the partial restoration of my health, that I was able to avail myself of Mr Christie Miller's great kindness in allowing his copy of the edition of 1578 to be brought up by Mr Graves to the British Museum, that I might be able carefully to compare with the original the various readings I had taken from Mr Laing's reprint; and, as was to be expected from his well-known care and accuracy, I found but few variations from the original. These will be noticed in this Appendix in connection with the pieces in which they occur. The various readings of C., so far as given in the footnotes to some early sheets of this reprint, were taken mainly from the fragment in St Andrews University Library. The more important of the others were got by me from the copy in the British Museum, and will be mentioned in the notes on the hymns in which they occur. They are chiefly valuable as confirming the readings of one or other of the earlier editions; and I owe much to Mr Graves for the comfort in which I was able to get through a week's hard work in the British Museum.—Pp. 5, 6.

When the early sheets of this volume were printed off in 1894, the only reprint of the sixteenth century English translations of the New Testament in the St Andrews University Library was that contained in Bagster's English Hexapla, and from that the quotations given in the notes, pp. 5, 6, were taken. More recently the reprint of Coverdale's translation of 1535 has been got, and as I find that, though to a large extent it coincides with Tyndale's renderings of the texts quoted, yet in some instances it comes closer to the readings of the Scottish book, I subjoin its version of the texts in question:—

"Go ye youre waye therfore, and teach all nacions, and baptysse them in the name of the fater, and of the sonne, and of the holy goost."—Matt. xxviii. "Go ye youre waye in to all the worlde and preach the gospell unto all creatures. Who so beleueth and is baptysed, shalbe saued: but who so beleueth not, shalbe damned."—Mark xvi. "Therefore we are buried with him by baptyme in to death, that, lyke as Christ was raysed vp from the deed by the glory of the fater, euen so we also shulde walke in a new life."—Rom. vi. "Not for y^e deedes of righteousnes which we wroughte, but after his mercy he saued us, by the fountayne of the new byrth and renuyng of the holy goost, which he shed on vs abundantly thorow Iesus Christ our Sauoure; y^t we beyng made righteous by his grace, shulde be heyres of eternal life accordynge to hope."—Tit. iii.

"That, which I deluyred unto you, receaued I of the Lorde. For the Lorde Iesus, the same nighte in the which he was betrayed, toke the bred, and gaue thankes and brake it, and sayde: Take ye and eate ye, this is my body, which is broken for you. This do in the remembraunce of me. After the same maner also he toke y^e cuppe, whan supper was done and sayde: This cuppe is the new Testament

in my bloude, this do (as oft as ye drynke it) in the remembraunce of me. For as oft as ye shal eat of this bred and drynke of this cuppe, ye shal shewe the Lordes death, untill he come. Wherefore who soeuer shal eate off this bred, and drynke of this cuppe of the Lorde unworthely, shalbe giltye of the body and bloude of the Lorde. But let a man examen himselfe, and so let him eate of this bred and drynke of this cuppe. For he, that eateth and drynketh unworthely, eateth and drynketh his awne damnacion, because he maketh no difference of the Lordes body."—1 Cor. xi.

"And the keyes of heauen wil I geue unto thé : Whatsoever thou shalt bynde vpon earth, shalbe bounde also in heauen : and whatsoever thou shalt lowse vpon earth shalbe lowsed also in heauen."—Matt. xvi. "Whose synnes soeuer ye remytte, they are remytted unto them : and whose synnes soeuer ye retayne, they are retayned."—John xx.

His version of the Lord's Prayer is certainly not followed, *O our father, . . . thy wyll be fulfilled, . . . forgeve us oure dettes, &c.*; nor his version of the Ten Commandments.

P. 7. *The ten Commandis*.—The stanza and refrain of this hymn are those of Luther's first hymn on the same subject, and probably the "tone" or tune was also the same, as was that too of the Danish and Swedish translations; but in certain details there is closer resemblance to these last than to Luther's original. V. 2 agrees closely with v. 1 of a translation found both in the earliest Danish and Swedish hymn-books¹—

"Med Guds finger ij steen tafler schreffne
oc ware paa Sinai bierge udgiffne,
giennem then trofaste Mosen."

V. 3. "Wirschip na kynde of Imagerie," again, approaches to Weisse's rendering, "und betrewg dich mit bildern nicht"; while v. 4—

"Tak nocht the name of God in vaine,
Bot lat zour talk be nay, and ze,"

¹ I do not mean, however, to assert that John Wedderburn, the poet, any more than Coverdale, was himself a Danish scholar; but his friend and fellow-countryman Macchabæus was so, and I incline on various grounds to the opinion that he was assisting not only Wedderburn but his own brother-in-law Coverdale in their work. He was undoubtedly the ablest and the most thoroughly Protestant of the band of British exiles then at Wittenberg. Luther, who presided at his graduation as D.D., said of him, "Maccabæi pietas et eruditio est tanta ut appareat non humano consilio, sed Dei benignitate, vocatum esse ad munus docendi Evangelium." And identifying perhaps too exclusively the Scots of Scotland with the early Celtic missionaries, he said Germany owed something to them because of what these Scotie missionaries had done for her when her earliest churches were rooted up by the Huns. Melancthon seems to have held the same opinion.

is closely similar to the Swedish¹—

“Gudz dyra namn misbruka ey,
Dit tal skal wara ia och ney.”

I have not found any close resemblance to v. 5 of the Scottish version. In v. 6, “Honour thy *Elderis*, and thame supplie,” is similar to Weisse’s German, “Dein *eltern* halt nach Gott inn ehr,” and to the Danish “*Foraeldre* skalt du aere.” In the last two verses the agreement is closer both with Luther’s German version and Weisse’s.

P. 10. *The Creid*.—This, on the whole, is a pretty close version of Luther’s well-known hymn, “Wir glauben all an eynen Gott,” as even an English reader may ascertain if he will compare it with Miss Winkworth’s modern translation of the same hymn. Still the Danish or Swedish version may have been before the translator when he began each stanza with the words “We trow,” corresponding to their “Vi tro,” and in the two lines—

“He takis cure, baith day and nycht,
To saue vs, throw his godly mycht,”

corresponding with—

“Han sorger for oss dag oc nat
For han haffuer alting ij sijn macht.”

The last stanza of the Scottish version has only nine lines, instead of the eleven of the German in that stanza, as well as in the former stanzas. In the reprint I have suggested how the missing lines may be supplied and the sense completed. Miss Winkworth has given an admirable English version of this hymn.—*Chorale Book for England*, No. 75, ed. 1863.

P. 11. *The Lordis Prayer*.—This hymn is modelled on Luther’s, and a line here and there is pretty similar, but on the whole it is an imitation rather than a translation of his version. The thought in verses 1, 2, may be an expansion of that in the first four lines of the version of Pollio; the most marked resemblance in stanza 10 is to the corresponding stanza of the version in the Leipsig Psalter of 1537. Bishop Cox’s metrical version of the Lord’s Prayer is at once a pretty close and a spirited rendering of Luther’s, and it held its place both in the Old English and in the Old Scottish Psalter from the first onwards.

P. 14. *Of our Baptism*.—Luther’s hymn, “Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam,” is pretty closely followed, but that consists only of

¹ The French of 1532 is—

“Ouy ou Non finira ton langage.”

seven stanzas, this of ten. Stanzas 3, 9, 10—giving fuller explanations of the effects of the sacrament of baptism—are no doubt original.

P. 16. *The Supper of the Lord*.—This is a pretty close translation of Luther's "Das Lied S. Johannis Hus gebessert," which is said to have retained the tune of Hus's hymn, "De cæna Domini." Mr Laing gives the Latin of Hus's hymn from an eighteenth-century history published at Nürnberg, Wackernagel in the latest edition of his 'Kirchenlied' (i. p. 218) gives it from a Munich codex of the fifteenth century.¹ This varies from the text given by Mr Laing, and has ten verses like the German and Scotch, instead of nine.

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|--|--|
| <p>"1. Ihesus christus, nostra salus,
quod reclamationis omnis malus,
Nobis in sui memoriam
dedit in panis hostiam.</p> | <p>6. Non augetur consecratus,
inconsumptus nec mutatus,
Nec divisus in fractura,
totus deus in statura.</p> |
| <p>2. O quam sanctus panis iste,
tu solus es, Ihesu Christe !
Panis, cibus, sacramentum,
quo nusquam maius inventum.</p> | <p>7. Esca digna angelorum,
pietatis lux sanctorum,
Lex moderna approbavit,
quod antiqua figuravit.</p> |
| <p>3. Hoc donum suavitatis
caritasque deitatis,
Virtus et eucaristia
communione gracia.</p> | <p>8. Salutare medicamen,
peccatorum relevamen,
Pasce nos, a malis leva,
duc nos ubi lux est eva.</p> |
| <p>4. Ave, deitatis forma,
dei unitatis norma,
In te quisque delectatur,
qui te fide speculatur.</p> | <p>9. O quam magna tu fecisti,
qui te, Christe, impressisti,
Vini et panis specie
apparentum in facie.</p> |
| <p>5. Non es panis, sed es deus,
homo, liberator meus,
Dum in cruce pendisti,
et in carne defecisti.</p> | <p>10. Caro cibus, sanguis vinum,
est misterium divinum ;
Tibi sit laus et gloria
in seculorum secula."</p> |

The late Dr Menzies of Hoddam once told me that he had heard the tune of this hymn sung to the well-known Scotch Paraphrase—

" 'Twas on that night, when doomed to know
The eager rage of every foe."

P. 18. *Gracis befor meit or efter*.—The first of these I have not succeeded in tracing to any German source. The version of the Lord's Prayer which follows is probably that of Johann Freder, but with him it follows not after this first Grace, but after the one on p. 20, "All creature on the Lord dependis." The second, "We thank

¹ He gives on p. 219 two post-Reformation versions of the hymn, the chief various readings of which are in v. 1, l. 4, *hanc* for *in*; v. 2, l. 4, *non majus est* for *nusquam majus*; v. 4, l. 4, *de* for *te*; v. 6, l. 2, *non consumptus sit* for *inconsumptus nec*; l. 4, *plenus* for *totus*; v. 7, l. 2, *dux* for *lux*.

our God," &c., is probably from the first stanza of Johann Walther's "Das Gratias," beginning—

"Wir dancken Gott dem Herren."—W., vol. iii. p. 205.

The third appears in more than one form in the German "Die Augen aller creatur," &c. (Wackernagel, vol. iii. p. 223), prefixed to Freder's short version of the Lord's Prayer and Louer's:—

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|--|---|
| <p>"1. Aller augen O Herre Gott
warten auff dich inn ihrer not,
Die du zu rechter zeit speyest,
und alles was lebt wol settigest,
Thust dein milte hand auffthron,
dass sie all wolgefallen hon.</p> | <p>2. Segen Herr Gott und vatter mein,
durch Jesum Christum dem Sune dein,
Uns und auch dise gabn,
die von deiner güte habn
Das wir sie in deinem namen
geniessen seliglich, Amen."</p> |
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—Do., p. 642.

The last of the Graces, "We thank thé God of thy gudnes," &c., is a translation of the German "O Gott wir dancken deiner Güte" (do., p. 902), of which Nicolas Boie is supposed to have been the author.

P. 21. *The Spirituall Sangis* proper begin with a confession of sin, which, as I have stated previously (p. xlvii), is a translation of one which had a place in the Danish 'Psalmebog' of 1536, and which still has a place in Swedish hymn-books. I had an impression that I had come on it in an old German hymn-book, but if so, all my efforts to retrace it have been unsuccessful. The Scottish poet extends v. 5 of the original into verses 5, 6. Swedish authorities generally attribute the hymn to Eric XIV.; but this I suppose to refer only to the Swedish translation of it, for the year of his birth was 1533, that is, *just three years* before the Danish version appeared.

The author of the article on Scandinavian Hymnody in the 'Dictionary of Hymnology,' however, seems to regard him as the author of the hymn of which he gives the first two lines, p. 999:—

"Beklaga aff allt sinne
Mä iag men Själa nöd."

But in my Swedish 'Psalmboken' of 1781, Eric XIV.'s name is given to a hymn much nearer to the Danish than the above:—

Danish.

"Beklage aff all mijn synde
maa ieg mett Koning Daidt,
Ieg kan thet oc befinde
mijn Gudt handt war meg wredt."

Swedish.

"Beklaga af alt mit sinne
Mä iag med Konung Dawid,
Iag kan det ock besinna
Min Gud han är mig wred."

P. 24. *Ane Sang of our coruipit nature*.—In German, "Von synde und von dem Lidende Christi." This hymn is said to have

been composed or modified by Herman Bonn, superintendent of the Church of Lübeck, and to have appeared first in a Magdeburg hymn-book of 1543. Wackernagel (vol. iii. p. 735) gives it as a four-line stanza, and so also does Mützell (vol. i. p. 312). Koch (vol. i. pp. 434, 435) gives it as an eight-line stanza, as it really is in the Scotch, for lines 3 and 6 should each be divided, line 1 in stanza 1 rhyming with "creature" in line 3, and line 4 with "slain" in line 6. This is all the more remarkable as these lines do not rhyme in the original. I subjoin the first stanza of each :—

"Och wy armen synders !
unse missedadt,
dar wy ynne entfangen
und gebaren sint,
Hefft gebracht uns alle
yn solke grote nodt,
der wy unterworfen sint
dem ewigen dodt.
Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison,
Kyrie eleison."

"We wratcheit sinnaris pure,
Our sin hes vs forlorne :
Thairin all creature,
consauit is and borne.
Sin hes wrocht vs sic paine,
That we without remeid
Condamnit ar and slaine
to hell the deuill and deid.
Lord haif mercy on vs, Christ have
mercy, &c."

P. 25. *Ane sang of the flesche and the Spirit*.—A translation of the German "Von dem streyte des fleysches wider den geyst." This last was first published separately at Nürnberg about 1530, under the title of "Der geystlich Buchsbaum," and was repeatedly reprinted. It found a place in several hymn-books from 1541 onwards. Wackernagel (vol. iii. p. 107) ascribes it to Hans Wittztat von Wertheim. Mr Laing refers to Scottish poems of a similar cast which Wedderburn might have found in Henryson and Dunbar; but this is not only of a similar cast with the German of Hans Wittztat, but a pretty close translation of it, as may be seen from the subjoined verse :—

"Nun hörend zu, ir Christen leüt,
wie leyb und seel ghenander streyt :
Allhie auff erd in diser zeit
hand sie ein statigs kriegem,
kains mag vom andern fliehen."

P. 28. *Of the Croce, and the frute thairof*.—This hymn is founded on the last three verses of the 11th chapter of St Matthew, and is a translation of a hymn which has been ascribed to the same author as the preceding one, but which Wackernagel, in the latest edition of his 'Kirchenlied,' attributes to Georg Grünwald, an Anabaptist, who was imprisoned and finally condemned to death and burned for his steadfast adherence to his faith. Mützell (vol. i. pp. 78-80) gives two different recensions of this hymn, Wackernagel (vol. iii. pp. 128-130) gives three separate recensions of it. The first was printed separately in the year 1530, and in the following year it appeared in a

Nürnberg hymn-book ; the second in Schumann's 'Gesangbuch' of 1539, and the third in the 'Salmingerische Gesangbuch' of 1537, and afterwards in several Strassburg hymn-books. Various changes were made on it when it was adopted into the Lutheran and Strassburg hymn-books. Some of these, especially the placing of what were originally verses 7, 8, after what were at first verses 9, 10, are found in the Scottish translation. Some of the other changes are not found there. Whether this is sufficient to suggest yet another intermediate recension I do not attempt to determine. As I pointed out to Mr Laing in 1867, the last two lines of stanza 9 were transposed in the four old editions of the 'Gude and Godlie Ballates,' but in this reprint they are given in what is manifestly their right order. The German original confirms this :—

"Thocht ane had all this warld sa wyde,
With gold and precious stanis of pryde,
Zit he sall die, with dule and pyne."

"Wenn einer hett die gantze welt,
silber und gold und alles gelt,
noch mus er an den regen."

In line 1, p. 32, "to" should evidently be "do," as it is in the editions of 1600 and 1621.

P. 32. *Ane Consolatioun in aduersitie*.—I do not remember to have seen either in German or Danish any hymn which could be regarded as the original of this. It is mainly a metrical exposition of Heb. xii.

P. 34. *The Forlorne Sone*.—This seems to have appeared first separately in Germany, certainly by 1530,¹ and in 1536 a translation of it appeared in the Swedish 'Psalmboken,' printed at Stockholm in that year. This is shorter than the German and Scottish versions, consisting of twelve stanzas of nine lines each. The German consists of eleven stanzas of fourteen lines each, the Scottish of eighteen of seven lines each.

"Sinnaris vnto my sang advert,
Quhilk Christ into his Vangell kend."

"Ihr allerliebsten Christen meyn
hört wie Christus redet so feyn."

It appears also to have been translated into English, "Repentaunce showed by the prodigall childe," f. 87*b*, Stationers' Hall Register. On the other hand, Ritson in his 'Ancient Songs and Ballads' has reprinted (vol. ii. p. 282) "The Prodigal's Resolution"—*i.e.*, his determination to take his pleasure—but that evidently belongs to a later date, after the Restoration of Charles II.

P. 39. *The ryche Gluttoun, and pure Lazarus*—"Von dem reychen

¹ Wackernagel's Bibliographie, p. 117.

man und dem armen Lazaro."—This also at first appeared separately in seventeen stanzas, along with a reprint of the previous hymn, and another. It is in the Swedish book of 1536 in eleven stanzas, and in the Scotch it is still further compressed into nine. A shorter version of the parable was also, it seems, published by 1536.¹ The first hymn-book which Wackernagel mentions as containing it was printed in 1545 'Kirchenlied' (vol. iii. pp. 177-180). The following entry in the Register of Stationers' Hall in 1556-57 may refer to an English translation of the Parable, "Of the Ryche man and poor Lazarus," f. 22b.

P. 42. *The principall pointis of the Passioun*.—The title of the German hymn is "Ein newer reye von Gottes wort zu singen," and the author is stated in the last verse to be Heinrich Müller of Zütphen, who composed it in prison. If, like Grünwald, he was suspected of holding Anabaptist views, he certainly in that verse disavows the political creed of the sect :—

"Recht lasst uns alle bitten
Christum für die Oberkeyt;
Ob wir schon von in lidten
gewalt, auch für alle feyndt,
Das in Gott wöl genedig seyn:
hat Heinrich Müller gesungen
in dem gefencknus seyn."

"Pray for all men in generall,
Suppose they wirk vs richt or wrang:
Pray for zour Prince in speciall.
Thocht they be Just or Tyranis strang
Obey; for sa it aucht to be.
In presoun for the veritie,
Ane faithful brother maid this sang."

The Scottish version is pretty close throughout to the German, but its sixth stanza is an addition of the translator. It is said to have appeared separately in 1524, and is found in High as well as Low German hymnals between 1534 and 1539. Of course Henry Müller, not the Scottish translator, as Sir J. G. Dalrymple had supposed, was the imprisoned faithful brother.

P. 46. *Ane sang of the Euangell*.—This is a spirited and pretty faithful translation of Luther's famous hymn, referred to on p. xlviii. It is entitled by him, "Ein dancklied für die höchsten wolthaten, so uns Gott in Christo erzeugt hat." It was one of the most valued and most extensively blest of all his hymns in his own day, containing a clear statement of the way of salvation by grace, and embodying his own experience and that of many who owned him as their spiritual father. "Eyn hübsch Euangelisch gesang," "Ein fein geistlich lied, wie der sündler zur gnade kompt," are the terms applied to it in some of the earlier Lutheran hymnals; and it still holds its place in the hymnals of all the Churches which cleave to his teaching. As already stated, the tune was that of an old secular song he had heard sung, and no doubt was retained to the Scotch version, which adopted also the stanza of the original, but made its seventh line rhyme with the second and fourth, which the German

¹ Wackernagel's Bibliographie, p. 140.

hymn-writers seldom do in this class of hymns. I give below the first stanza of the original and of Miss Winkworth's English version :—

“ Nun frewt euch lieben Christen gemeyn, und last uns frölich spryngen, Das wir getrost und all ynn eyen mit lust und liebe syngen, Was Gott an uns gewendet hat, und seine süsse wunder that, gar theur hat ers erworben.”	“ Dear Christian people now rejoice ! Our hearts within us leap, While we, as with one soul and voice, With love and gladness deep, Tell how our God beheld our need, And sing that sweet and wondrous deed, That hath so dearly cost Him.”
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For, on p. 48, l. 19, should be *In*. The reading *die* for *be* in l. 13 is found only in B. The other reading, which is that of C. and D. as well as A., is every way preferable, and is a close rendering of “da bist du selig worden.”

P. 49. *Ane sang of the birth of Christ*, with the tune of “Baw lula low.”—This is a singularly faithful and happy rendering of Luther's children's hymn for Christmas Eve, “drawn from the second chapter of St Luke's Gospel.” It is said to have been composed by him in 1535 for his little boy Hans, then about five years old. It was widely popular in the sixteenth century, and it is said to be still chanted before daybreak on Christmas morning from the tower or dome of several of the city churches, among which Magdeburg and Dresden have been specially mentioned to me. I subjoin v. 1 in the German and in Miss Winkworth's version, and v. 11 in the German and Scottish as well as in the English version :—

“Vom himel hoch da kom ich her, ich bring euch gute neue mehr, Der guten mehr bring ich so viel, davon ich sagen und singen wil.”	“From heaven above to earth I come To bear good news to every home, Glad tidings of great joy I bring Whereof I now will say and sing.”
--	--

V. 11 is even more happily rendered in the Scottish than in the English version :—

“ Der sammet und die seiden dein Das ist grob hew und <i>windelein</i> , Darauff du Kong so gros und reich her <i>prangst</i> , als wers dein <i>himmel Reich</i> .”	“ The Syik and Sandell thé to eis, Ar hay, and sempill sweilling clais, Quharin thow <i>gloris</i> greitest King, As thow in heuin war in thy <i>Ring</i> .”
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“ For velvet soft and silken stuff
Thou hast but hay and straw so rough,
Whereon, Thou King, so rich and great,
As 'twere thy heaven, art throned in state.”

The tune of Baw lula low.—Ritson in the Dissertation prefixed to his ‘Ancient Songs and Ballads’ (pp. liv-lvi) gives what he supposes to be a fragment of a very ancient carol of the Virgin Mother rocking her cradle, and accompanies it with the music and the

lullaby which, as her child softly slept, she sat and sang, "Lully, lullow lully, lullow baw, baw, my barne slepe softly now."

P. 51. *To vs is borne a barne of blis.*—This is an improved version of a medieval Christmas hymn, "Ein gesang von der gepürt Christi, den man auff Weinachten singet, gebessert." In his 'Kirchenlied' of 1841 Wackernagel did not trace it back farther than to the Strassburg Psalter of 1539, but in his more recent and much more exhaustive work he traces it back in the Protestant churches to the Zwickau 'Enchiridion' of 1528 and the 'Riga-Kirchenordnung' of 1530, the former giving the High German and the latter the Low, which he thinks is the original (vol. iii. pp. 520, 521). The first verse, indeed, he tells us, belongs to the fifteenth century, and is found in Roman Catholic hymnals of the seventeenth century (vol. ii. p. 525). The second verse in the Scottish translation is not contained in either of the two Protestant German versions, and may possibly have been inserted as a protest against the teaching contained in the second verse of the pre-Reformation hymn. In neither of the two Protestant versions given by Wackernagel are the Latin words, retained in the third verse of the Scottish version—"verbum caro factum est"—found. The Scottish version is a happy rendering of the original, especially in the first and last verses, which I give below:—

"Ein kindelein so löblich
ist uns geboren heute
Von einer Jungfraw seüberlich
zu trost uns armen leute.
Wer uns das kindelein nicht geborn,
so weren wir allzumal verlorn,
das heyl ist unser alle,
Ey du süsser Jhesu Christ
das du mensch geboren bist,
Behüt uns vor der helle."

"Des danck yhm alle Christenheit
für solche grosse gute,
Und bitte sein barmhertzigkeit,
das er uns fort behüte
Vor falscher ler und falschen wahn,
darynn wir han lange zeit gestahn,
er will uns das vergeben,
Gott, vater, son, und heilig geist,
wir bitten von dir allermeist,
las uns ym friede leben."

P. 53. *In dulci Jubilo.*—One of the most joyous and best-known carols of the medieval Church, and in that mixture of Latin and vernacular which, under the influence of Henry of Loufenburg and others, became popular in Germany in the century before the Reformation. Wackernagel traces it back to the fifteenth century, and gives four versions of it from MSS. of that date (vol. ii. pp. 483, &c.). The first of these (No. 640) consists of six stanzas, the first three of which are, with slight variations, similar to the text the Scottish poet had before him, and to that followed in some of the earlier Lutheran hymnals; the fourth, which ultimately was transferred into the third place, was not deemed suited for Protestant worship, but at last it too was so altered as to be allowed a place in Lutheran hymnals. I give the verse in both forms:—

“ Mater et filia
 O iwingfraw Maria,
 Hettest du uns nicht erworben
 cœlorum gaudia,
 So wer wir all verlorn
 per nostra crimina,
 O quanta gratia !
 O quanta gratia !”

“ O Patris charitas,
 O Nati lenitas,
 Wir weren all verloren
 per nostra crimina,
 So hat *er* uns erworben
 cœlorum gaudia ;
 Eya wer wir da !
 Eya wer wir da !”

Miss Winkworth in her ‘Christian Singers of Germany’ (pp. 94, 95) gives a translation of it into English, and states that it has been attributed, but erroneously, to Peter Dresdensis, who was rector of Zwickau, and whose chief service in hymnology lay in the strenuous efforts he made to introduce hymns in the vernacular more freely into public worship. He had no doubt, she says, been led to this by his acquaintance with Hus, whose assistant he had been, and one of the distinctive peculiarities of whose followers was their “free use of hymns and prayers in their mother-tongue.” In 1504 these hymns were collected and published—“the first example of a hymn-book, composed of *original hymns* in the vernacular, to be found in any Western nation,” though somewhat earlier two or three collections of German versions of the Latin hymns and sequences made their appearance.

P. 54. *Onlie to God on nicht be gloir.*—The “Gloria in excelsis Deo” of Nicolaus Hovesch, or Decius, as he has been more usually called. Wackernagel (vol. iii. pp. 565-567) gives four recensions of it. The two first exhibit the Low German forms of the hymn which appeared respectively in the ‘Ghesangk Boek’ of 1526, and Magdeborch ‘Gesangbuche’ of 1534, and which differ, mainly, in that the former gives as the last word of the last line of the third stanza “Amen,” and the latter “armen.” The two earliest High German recensions are those which appeared respectively in the Leyptzick ‘Geistliche Lieder’ of 1539, and in the Augsburg ‘Tenor Concentus Novi’ of 1540.¹ The former contains for the first time the melody to which the hymn has since been usually sung, and the reading “Amen” at the end of the third verse, while the latter has the reading “armen.” The reading “aller,” or “allen,” which has now been generally accepted, has not been found by Wackernagel earlier than 1564, but one would suppose it must have been in existence earlier, for Coverdale’s version is “Graunt us thy mercy *altogether*”; and though in the extant editions of the Scotch book “all” is not found, it is needed both to complete the number of feet in the line and the rhyme of this line with that of the fourth line in the stanza, as in the other three strophes, “Lord be mercyfull to us [all].” The fourth line in the last verse has also been left out in the Scottish version, and has been supplied by me in this reprint, as also in my

¹ It is found also in a Magdeburg hymn-book of 1540.

'Wedderburns and their Work' of 1867. Mr Laing also supplied it in somewhat different words in his reprint of 1868, and not only gave Coverdale's version of it at length, as I had done, but also the whole of the original. I must content myself here with inserting the last strophe of the original, and of Coverdale's translation. The former I take from the Leyptzick 'Geistliche Gesänge' of 1539, which I suppose Wedderburn as well as Coverdale to have followed :—

" O Heiliger Geist, du gröstes gut, du aller heilsampst Tröster, Furs Teuffels gewalt fort an behüt die Jhesus Christus erlöset, Durch grosse marter und bitterm tod, abwend all unser iamer und not, Dazu wir uns verlassen."	" O Holy Goost, our comfortoure In all our trouble and hevynesse, Defende us all from Sathan's power, Whome Christ hath bought from wo- fulnesse; Kepe our hertes in the veritie, In oure tentacyon stand us by, And strength alwaye oure weake bodies."
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P. 55. *Of the greit louing and blyithnes of Goddis word*.—The title of the German hymn, of which the above is a pretty close translation, is "Ein geistlich lied von der krafft Göttlichs wort." Wackernagel (vol. iii. p. 123) gives two recensions of it—the one from the Erfurt 'Gesangbuch' of 1527, the other from the Erfurt 'Gesangbüchlein' of 1531. The author of the hymn is not yet certainly identified. A separate impression of it is said to have under it the letters A.H.Z.W., which might be read A. Hertzog zu Würtemberg. Both these recensions are arranged in eight stanzas of twelve lines, as is that given by Mützell from the Leyptzig 'Gesangbuch' of 1545; but in his 'Kirchenlied' of 1541 Wackernagel gives it as in eight-lined stanzas,¹ with double rhymes in lines 1, 3, 5, 7. This is the form given to it both in the English version of Coverdale and the Scottish version of this book, the former consisting of seven stanzas and the latter of nine—the second being an insertion of the translator. It is also that followed in the Swedish Psalm-Book of 1536. It is not only a faithful translation of the original, but a very favourable specimen of the poetical merits of the translator, who, as I have already stated (p. lxvi), has managed the double rhymes even more deftly than the author of the hymn. From certain words in v. 3, Mr Laing is inclined to hold that the Scottish version must be of later date than the time of the Wedderburns; but the words in question are substantially in the original, which was published by 1527, and refer to the state of Germany, not to that of Scotland. I give both the German and the Scottish forms :—

" Das es mit macht an tag ist bracht, wie klerlich ist vor augen."	" Sen throw thy strenth Thy word at lenth Is preichit cleir befor our eine."
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¹ This is in the Wittenberg 'Geistliche Lieder,' published by Klug in 1535, which I regard as one remote if not immediate source both of Coverdale's and Wedderburn's Spiritual Songs, and there the hymn has eight stanzas.

P. 57. *Nunc dimittis, the prayer of Symeon*.—The German title is “Der Lobgesang Simeonis, des Altuaters, Nunc dimittis, Luc. ij.” The hymn first appeared in one of the 1524 editions of Luther’s hymns (‘Geystliche Gesanckbuchleyn’), and the first stanza of it and of a modern English translation of it are given below. The Scotch translation is not very close, save in the first and last verses. The second and fourth lines in the German consist only of four syllables, but in the Scotch of six, in the first, third, and fourth verses, and of eight in the second verse. Miss Winkworth also has six syllables in her translation of these lines :—

“ Myt frid und freud ich far do hin, ynn Gotts wille, Getrost ist myr meyn hertz und sin, sanfft und stille, Wie Gott myr verheyssen hat : der tod ist meyn schlaff worden.”	“ In peace and joy I now depart, According to God’s will ; For full of comfort is my heart, So calm and sweet and still : So doth God his promise keep, And death to me is but a sleep.”
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P. 58. *Ane sang of the resurrection*.—The title of the German hymn is “Christus pro nobis passus est verdütschet,” which clearly implies that the Latin was the original of the German, as it is clearly also of the Scotch version. It is said to have been composed by Herman Bonn, and to have appeared in a Magdeburg hymnal of 1542 or 1543. I gave the Latin hymn in my ‘Wedderburns and their Work’ in 1867, and I here give it again, but from the text in Wackernagel’s later ‘Kirchenlied’ (vol. i. No. 476) :—

- | | |
|--|---|
| “ 1. Christus pro nobis passus est,
et immolatus agnus est,
Effuso suo sanguine
in ipsâ crucis arbore,
Et mortuus, imperium
devicit diabolicum. | 2. Nam resurgens ex mortuis
victor redit ex inferis,
Delevit et chirographum,
nobis quod est contrarium,
Exspoliato Satana,
reclusâ coeli januâ. |
|--|---|
3. Habemus ergo liberum
jam nos ad patrem aditum,
Per Christum Dei filium
pro nobis morti traditum.
Alleluia, Alleluia !
Benedicamus Domino.”

The running title at the head of the page is “Christ Jesus gaif him self to *die*,” and *die* is also in the first line of the “sang” in editions 1600 and 1621; but the editions of 1567 and 1578 read *deide* and *deid*, which are required to rhyme with *maid* in the following line. I have inserted “Jesus” in the first line, both because it is found in the head-line and in the Tabill of Contents (p. 224), and also because it is evidently required to make up the number of feet in the line. For *bliss* in second last line read *blis*.

Pp. 59, 61, 62, 63. *Certain Ballatis of the Scripture*.—Of the four pieces, “Till Christ quhome I am haldin for to lufe,” “Rycht sorelie musing in my mynde,” “Rycht sore opprest I am with panis smart,”

"Allace that same sweit face," I have found no trace in any of the German hymn-books I have examined; and without venturing to assert it too positively, I am inclined to conclude that they are either original, or are derived from some English or Scottish source unknown to me. Whether the second and fourth of them are the songs mentioned in the 'Complaynt of Scotland,' or only spiritual songs modelled on them, can hardly be held as yet determined.

P. 65. *I call on thé, Lord Jesu Christ.*—This is a translation of a German hymn, of which the title is "Eyn geistlich lied, zu bitten umb glauben, liebe und hoffnung." Wackernagel supposes that it first appeared separately about 1530 (vol. i. p. 392), and was taken into the Erfurt 'Enchiridion' in 1531 (vol. iii. p. 54). The author was Johann Agricola, or, as he is termed in the separate impression of it, Iōn Eyssleben, des Hertzog Hans von Sachsen Prediger,—Eisleben being his native place. The German hymn consists of five stanzas of nine lines each, the Scotch of six with eight lines each. The seventh line of nine syllables is a double-rhyming one, and forms lines seventh and eighth of the German—the former consisting of four and the latter of five syllables. It as well as the English translation contain six stanzas, whereas the German has only five. The inserted stanza is the second. The hymn is one of the four, in the 'Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songs' of Coverdale, and in the 'Gude and Godlie Ballatis' of the Wedderburns, which are nearly alike, save in so far as the Yorkshire and Scottish dialects required differences. The Danish version, like the Scotch, is arranged in stanzas of eight lines, but it does not contain the additional stanza found in the latter and in the English version. See 'Danske Psalme-digtning,' 1846, vol. i. p. 133.

Pp. 66, 67. *Of mercy zit he passis all.*—I have come on nothing akin to this, unless the following entry in Stationers' Hall Register turn out to be so: "Carowl exortying men to put their trust in Christ alone," f. 118.

Pp. 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 79, 82, 83.—The "Ballatis" and "Carrells" on these pages I have not, save in two or three instances, succeeded in tracing to German or Danish sources; but I am not yet quite without hope that some younger and more patient investigator may be able to trace several more of them. They evidently contain a second cycle of Christmas and Easter hymns. Several of the former seem to me to bear affinity to the stanza and general contents of the hymns of the Bohemian Weisse and Horn on the birth of Christ, as "We suld into remembrance," "The Grace of God appeiris now," and especially "Now lat vs sing with joy and myrth." The carol "Hay Zule [Zule],¹ now sing and mak myrth," changed in the three later editions of the book into "Hay, let us sing and mak greit myrth," has

¹ The second *Zule* is found in the "Tabill" of contents, and is needed to complete the number of feet in the line.

considerable resemblance to a hymn in the Leipzig 'Psalmen und Geistliche Lieder' of 1537, though not exactly in the same stanza:—

“ Lobt Gott O lieben Christen Singet ihm mit Psalmisten ein new fröhlich lied; Macht Gott mitt uns einen ewigen fried.	Der Son Gottes ist nun kommen Hat unser fleisch angenommen Ist hie erschienen uns zu versöhnen und ewige clarheit zu verdienen.
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Er ist kommen uns zu hailen ,
und sein gut mit uns zu thailen,
Uns zu entbinden
Von allen sünden
Wie uns sein Engel fröhlich verkunden.”

Ritson (vol. i. p. 140) gives a Christmas carol with the title and refrain, “Wolcum Yol, wolcum Yol.” In Stationers' Hall Register, under the years 1562-63, is the following entry: “Christenmas Carrols auctorysshed by my Lord of London,” f. 86*b*.

“Of thingis twa, I pray thé, Lord,” is founded on Agur's prayer in Proverbs, ch. xxx. vv. 7, 8, 9, and bears considerable resemblance to vv. 1, 3, 4, 5 of a German hymn also founded on these verses, and beginning, “Zwey ding, O Herr, ich bitt von dir,” which is No. 466 in Wackernagel's ‘Kirchenlied’ of 1841; but unless that hymn can be traced considerably farther back than he has done, it must be regarded as posterior to the Scotch.

“Quha can disciue or put in write,” “Gif ze haif rissin from deide agane,” and “Quha suld my mellodie amend,” may possibly be original—at least several poems in that five-lined stanza are found in other Scottish poets of that time. (See religious poems in Bannatyne MS.)

The carol on the conception of Christ, “Lat vs reioyis and sing,” is probably modelled on some old secular “ballate.” “La, la, la,” is the refrain of one of the ballads given by Ritson. Line 1, “Lat vs,” &c., so read C. and D. as well as A., but B. has *Let*.

P. 85. *Heir endis the Spirituall Sangis, and beginnis the Psalmes of David, with vther new plesand Ballatis, as efter followis. Translatit out of Enchiridion Psalmorum to be sung.*—Full explanations of the meaning and value of this rubric have been given in the Introduction, pp. xliii.-xlv.

P. 85. *Quare fremuerunt gentes.* Psalm ij. (“Quhat is the cause, O God omnipotent.”)—There are quite a number of versions of this psalm in the German hymnals of the sixteenth century. Wackernagel, in the third volume of his latest edition, gives no fewer than ten. The earliest version was the abridged one of Öler, which appeared in the Strassburg hymn-book of 1525. The next that of Aberlin. But the favourite one seems to have been that of Andreas Knöpken, which appeared in High German in the Zwickau ‘Enchiridion’ of 1528, and in Low German—probably its original form—in the ‘Rigische

Kirchenordnung' of 1530. Wackernagel gives no fewer than six different recensions of it—three in Low German and three in High. Two of the latter make the first line of each strophe rhyme with the third, which the other four do not, and it is one of these (which appeared in the Erfurt 'Enchiridion' at latest by 1534) that is followed by the Scottish poet, and, like it, consists of eight strophes. The English version of Coverdale I am still satisfied is taken from No. 735, vol. iii. of Wackernagel's K. L., though it has six strophes while the latter has only five. It is said to be a revision of the earlier version of Ludvig Öler, and first appeared in Gutknecht's 'Gesangbuch' of 1827. I subjoin a few lines of each :—

" Warum thobt doch der heyden hauff die, leuten unnütz, sagen ?	" Werfore do the heithen now rage thus Vayne thynges to ymagyn so folyshly ?
Lass uns zureyssen ire bandt von uns werffen ir seyle Aber der in dem himel wont lacht, und verspot ir teyle ; In zorn er mit in reden wirdt sein grym gross schrecken in gebiert.	They saye, Let us breake up theyr bondes And let us cast their yoke awaye : But he that in heaven hath residence Shall laugh them to scorne and theyr pretence The Lord shall talk with them together In his great anger and wrath truly.
Mein predig das gesatz bezeugt, des mich der herr bescheyden, Gott spricht, mein sun, heudt ich dich zeugt, heysch ich gib dir die heyden Zum erb, und was die welt vermag."	I will shewe forth the commandement Wherof the Lorde hath sayd to me Thou art my Sonne whome I have sent, This day have I begotten thee ; Axe of me and I shall geve the soone All heithen in possession Throwout the world wherever they be."

I subjoin also for comparison with Wedderburn's version the first strophe of Knöpfen's, according to No. 142, W. K. L., vol. iii. p. 103 :—

" Hilff, Gott, wie geht das ymmer zu
das alles volck so grymmet ?
Fürsten und könig hond kain ru,
mit eins sind sie gesinnet.
Wider zu streben deiner hand,
und Christo den du hast gesandt
der gantzen welt zu helffen."

P. 86, l. 23. For *teach* read *teiche*, and in p. 87 supply *Finis* at the end of the Psalm, which, though not in A., is found in B. and C.

P. 88. *Saluum me fac.* Psalm xj. — So it is numbered in the Vulgate, which in 1524 was followed by Luther, but in the Hebrew and the English Bible it is xii. It is a translation of Luther's "Ach, Gott von himel syhe darein," which Wackernagel calls his third hymn, but it is not nearly so close as that of the second psalm. The original consists of six strophes of seven lines each, but the concluding one is a doxology, which was occasionally omitted in the German, as it is

also by the Scottish poet. This psalm also has been translated by Coverdale, and in six strophes like the Scotch version, and on the whole is closer to the original. I subjoin the fifth strophe in each :—

“And Goddis word and promit
Is trewar, cleirar, and mair pure,
Than silver seuin tymes purifyit :
Sen that thow art in word sa sure,
Thow saif vs from sic sort of men,
And fra the doctrine that they ken.
Eternallie on us tak cure.”

“Sylver seven tymes tryed in the fyre,
Is purefied and made deare therby,
So is God’s word always nearer,
When it is persecute cruelly.
The Lord’s wordes are pure and ryght
And wyll not be kepte downe by myght,
But wyll appeare the more planely.”

Here there can be no question that Coverdale keeps closer to the original than Wedderburn, but it has been suggested that *deare* in the second line is a misprint for *cleare*, as the German is *lautter*, and is correctly rendered by the *cleirar* of Wedderburn. Whether *nearer* may not also be a misprint for *dearer* I leave for others to settle.

P. 89. *Usque quo Domine*. Psalm xxij.—This is probably a misprint for xij., which is the number of the psalm in the Vulgate, but it is xij. in the Hebrew. There are at least two German versions of this psalm from the sixteenth century—the one by Matthæus Greiter, which appeared in the Strassburg ‘Kirchenampt,’ published, Wackernagel supposes, in 1524. It consists of three seven-lined stanzas besides the doxology. The other version is by Hans Sachs, and appears to have been published by 1526. It also is in three seven-lined stanzas, but without a doxology. The Scottish translation was probably taken from Greiter’s version, concentrating its three stanzas into two. Line 5 in the first stanza of the Scottish version has been omitted, and I have endeavoured to supply it from the German. The tune is said to be that set to Psalm lxiv., which, like the German version of this psalm, has lines of eight syllables, while the lines of the Scottish versions of both have ten syllables.

P. 90. *Domine quis habitabit*. Psalm xxiiij.—This evidently is a misprint for xiiij., the number of the psalm in the Vulgate, as xv. is its number in the Hebrew. There are several German versions of it. The two earliest are those of Dachstein and Sachs, the former of which was first published in 1525 and the latter in 1526. They differ but little from each other, both being in three stanzas of seven lines, and the lines of eight syllables, and both following the Hebrew number. The Scottish version expands their contents into four stanzas of seven lines each, and of ten syllables to each line. Like the previous psalm, it is to be sung to the tune of Psalm lxiv. Dachstein’s version is probably the immediate source of the Scottish one, as the concluding lines of the last stanza will show :—

“Wer dis ding recht halten thut
der blibt ewig in sicher hut,
mit Gott wirdt er regnieren.”

“Quhateuer he be, that weill obseruis
this,
Sall neuer perische, bot Ring in heuinnis
blis.”

P. 91. *Dominus Regit me.* Psalm xxiiij.—There are two of the German versions of this psalm which present resemblances to the Scottish version. Both, in Wackernagel's K. L. of 1841, were attributed to Meuslin, but by 1870 he had become somewhat doubtful of this, though he admits it is not impossible that the second may be a revision of the first. It is the first, the authorship of which is thus left doubtful, which the Scottish poet follows, though not closely, expanding it into six seven-lined verses, of which I give the last, with the corresponding German below :—

“Guttes und die barmhertzigkeit
lauffen mir nach im leben,
Und ich werd bleiben alle zeit
im hauss des Herren eben,
Auff erd inn der Christlichen gmayn,
und nach dem tode werd ich sein
bey Christo meinem Herren.”

“Thy gudnes and beningnitie
Lat euer be with me thairfoir ;
And quhill I leue vntill I die,
Thow lay thame vp for me in stoir,
That I may haif my dwelling place,
Into thy hous befoir thy face,
To Ring with thé for euer moir.”

Coverdale has given no English version of this psalm, which is all the more remarkable, because he had in 1537 published Luther's Commentary on it. It is numbered by him, after the Vulgate, Psalm xxii, as it is by Luther also.

P. 93. *Exultate justi in Domino.* Psal. xxxiiij.—The numbering is according to the Hebrew and English versions, and not, like that of most of the preceding psalms, according to the Vulgate. Wackernagel has given but one metrical version of it—viz., that of Knöppen, which he says appeared first in the Magdeburg 'Gesangbuch' of 1534, and three years later, with some variations, in the second edition of the 'Rigische Kirchenordnung.' But there must have been others or a High German version of this in the Leipsig and Strassburg Psalters. The Scottish version might possibly be divided into six-lined strophes like the German, but there is no resemblance in details between them; and in my opinion the Scottish one falls more naturally into couplets which might be sung to some simple chant, and it adheres closely throughout to the prose version of the 'Enchiridion Psalmorum,' and possibly in lines 24, 25, p. 94—

“The King is not saif be his greit armie,
Nor Jyand saif, be strenth of his bodie,”

there may be a reminiscence of the old English version, “A kynge is not helped by his owne greate hoost, nether is a *giaunte* saved thorow the might of his owne strength.” Mr Laing has followed the reading in D. *Gyand*, but B. and C. as well as A. have *Jyand*. In line 5 of the same page, for *hail*—the reading of A.—Mr Laing has “hant,” while B. has “haue” and C. “haif,” but *hail* seems to me preferable. On the other hand, in line 19, p. 93, B. and C. read “quhilk” and D. “whilke,” but A. has *quhill*—i.e., till—which is evidently the better reading.

P. 95. *Noli æmulari*. Psal. xxxvij.—In this as in the two previous psalms the Hebrew numeration is followed. Two German versions are given by Wackernagel (vol. iii. Nos. 59, 537). The former is by Speratus, and appeared in 1527. The latter is by the Anabaptist Hetzer, and appeared in two recensions—the one in the Strassburg ‘Gesangbuch’ of 1530, and the other in the Augsburg book of 1530 or 1531. The Scottish version has no resemblance to either of the German ones, and it is probably modelled on the prose version in the ‘Enchiridion Psalmorum,’ and arranged in couplets to be sung to some simple chant. In the two last lines on p. 98—

“Keip Iustice, and haif E unto the rycht,
That sal mak peace for euer with God of nicht,”

we probably have a reminiscence of the old English translation, “Kepe innocency and take hede unto that which is right, for that shall bring a man peace at the last,” or of the Zürich prose translation, from which the old English translation was largely taken, and which has influenced also the last stanza of the metrical version of Speratus:—

“Darnach bewahr
deyn frümkeit wol,
Schaw was auffrichtig ist, folg mir eben,
So wirstu gewahr
deyn frid, die sol
endlich begegnen mit guttem leben.”

Hengstenberg in his Commentary on the Psalms also treated the Hebrew nouns as abstracts; but the current of German criticism since, I am assured, has run strongly in the opposite direction, and like our authorised version has translated them as concretes.

P. 96, l. 2, for “So” read “Sa”; l. 3, “thyne,” A. B., but C. has “thy”; l. 15, Mr Laing follows D. in reading “mansioun,” but B. as well as A. and C. reads “mantioun”; and in p. 97, ll. 22 and 28 “neglect” and “Beggand” with C. D., while B. as well as A. has “neclect” and “Begand.” On p. 98 C. reads in l. 1, *liue* for *leif*; l. 5, *luffis* for *luiffis*; in l. 9, *eirth* for *eird*; and l. 25, *flureisch* for *flureis*.

P. 99. *Exaudi Deus Orationem Meam*. Psal. lxiii. (“Lord advert unto my voice and cry”).—The only version of this psalm given by Wackernagel is that of Burcard Waldis (iii. No. 761), “Herr Gott, mein stim und klag erhör.” He has taken it from a ‘Gesangbuch’ of 1584, in which its title is “Ein gebet und trost-psalm wider die feind.”¹ But it must have been published at the very latest, when his complete Psalter was edited,² and it may even have appeared earlier in some separate form. At any rate there are in the early Psalters

¹ In the Leipzig ‘Psalmen und Geistliche Lieder.’

² In 1537.

of 1537 and 1540 versions not greatly differing from it, and among them one beginning—

“ O Gott, erhöꝛ, in meiner klag,
mein stimm, und behüt mein leben
Vor forcht, und in des feinds anschlag.”

The version of Waldis is in five stanzas of seven lines each, and the Scottish version has considerable resemblance to it, in its general contents; but it contains six stanzas of seven lines—the inserted stanza being the fourth, which evidently refers to the harsh measure being then meted out to the author and his friends by the authorities in Scotland :—

“ Quha will delait they will mak na refuse
Of fa, or fule, and for suspitioun
They will bring men vnto confusioun?”

Mr Laing for *delait* has given the reading of D. *delay it*, but the reading of *delayit* as one word in B. and C. is probably only another way of spelling *delait*,¹ which the context shows to be the right reading. On p. 99, l. 19, C. has *twa edged* for *twa-edgeit*, and in l. 20 *giunis* for *geuis*.

P. 101. *Quam bonus Deus Israell.* Psal. lxxij.—The only German version of this psalm given by Wackernagel (iii. No. 557) is that of Vogther, which appeared in the Strassburg ‘Kirchenampt’ of 1525, “Gott ist so gut dem Israhel.” It is in thirteen seven-lined stanzas, while the Scottish version is in fourteen four-lined ones. There is not much resemblance between them, and the German is even closer to the old English prose than the Scottish version is. In v. 3, l. 1, C. omits *thay*, in v. 6, l. 4, it has *wysche* instead of *wusche*, in v. 8, l. 1, *know* for *knaw*, in v. 9, *sone* for *sune*, and in v. 11 for *leit thow nocht*, let thow not.

P. 103. *Deus quis similis erit tibi.* Psal. lxxxij.—In addition to what I have said on p. liii. and its note on this psalm, I have now to add that it was to the persecuted Protestants in our native land before 1560 what the lxviii. was to the persecuted Huguenots of France, the xlvi. to the Protestants of Germany, and the cxxiv. to Knox and the Reformed Church after 1560. It went home to their hearts in a way it is difficult for us now to understand, and amidst all their hardships and reverses enabled them to hold fast their confidence that God would yet come to their aid as signally as He did for His Israel of old. It is the only one of these “Dundee Psalms” which may be said to have bequeathed its stanza and tune unto the later Psalter. The intermediate version contained in the Bannatyne MS. (which has now been published in full form by the Hunterian Club) is like this in seven-lined stanzas, and also has

¹ I.e., “inform on, accuse,” of heresy.

several lines much nearer to it than the Knoxian Psalter has; but even the fourteen-lined stanzas of Pont's version, in the latter, bear the same relation to the tune of this version as that of the ten-lined stanzas of the 124th Psalm in Knox's Psalter bears to the tune of Beza's five-lined stanza of the 124th in the Genevan translation. In all the extant editions of the Compendious Buik, save the one now reprinted, the second line of v. 1 is wanting. Mr Laing in 1867 endeavoured to supply the omission from the Bannatyne MS., which gave the meaning but not the rhyme. No version of the psalm is given by Wackernagel, but of course in the complete German Psalters there were from an early date several versions of it, though, as I have previously said, whatever inspiration the Scottish poet may have received from such sources, the working out of the details was all his own. I subjoin that of Burcard Waldis, which comes nearest to the unrestrained utterances of the Scottish poet, and if line 3 of its thirteen-lined stanza was meant, as I think it was, to be repeated, it may also have had some affinity with its tune:—

I.

“ Herr, mach dich auff und schweig doch
nicht,
Die harte noth uns ietz anfight,
Drumb sei doch nit so stille :/
Zu helffen uns, Herr auff erwach,
Und sih mit gnadem in die sach,
Und unser bitt erfulle ;
Dein feinde trutzten zorniglich
Mit wuten und mit toben,
Stolzieren und bochen wider dich,
In dein reich dort oben ;
Mit list irn rath beschlossen han,
Meynen es sol in fehlen nicht,
Es muss ubr deine Christen gan.

II.

Sie schreien all Wolher, wolher !
Dass irer keiner bleibe mehr,
Vertilget sie auff erden :/
Auff der ketzer falsche lehr
Und ires namens nimmer mehr
Hinfürt gedacht mög werden,
Satan und sein gottlosen hauff,
All' geystliche Prelaten,
König und Fürsten machen sich auff,
Und weltlich Potentaten
Han wider dich gemacht ein bund,
Dass sie den Evangelion
Aussrotten wöllen in einer stund.†

III.

D'rumb, HERR sihe du selbst in die sach,
Ir anschlagg'n zu nichte mach,
Dass sie dein macht erfahren :/
Wie Sisera und Kong Jabin
Bei Kison hast lan nichten hin,
So wöllst sie auch nicht speren,
Mach ir Fürsten wie Salmuna,
Wie Oreb ist geschehen,
Ir haupt-leut wie Seb und Seba
Dass sie dein'n Ernst auch sehen,
Lass ire macht einst untergan,
Und wie du Lot zertraten wirt,
Wie du gestürzt hast Midian.”

In v. 1, l. 1, C. reads *kiep* for *keip*; in v. 2, l. 3, Mr Laing reads *flycht*, but to me B. like A. appears to read *slycht*, and D. *slight*;

in v. 3, l. 3, C. reads *grie* instead of *gré*, in v. 6, l. 6, *contrare* for *contrair*, and in v. 7, l. 6, *thay* for *thy*, which last the sense requires.

I add the nine last lines of stanza iv. with the Scottish version opposite:—

“ Last ire macht auch fahren hin
Wie stüpfel vor dem winde,
Gleich wie ein fewr den wald verbrent,
Wie flamm die berg bedecken,
Verfolg sie dass sie werd'n zerstreut,
Dein g'witter sie erschrecken;
Voll schanden mach ir angesicht,
All die dein wort verfolgen wölln
Nach deinen will'n, nicht sein ge-
richt.”

“ As quheill vnstabil and caffé befor the
wind,
And as the wod consumit is with fyre;
And as the flame burning, quhair it can find
The faggat, in the feild, with greit Impyre:
Siclyke persew thame with thy greuous Ire,
Lat thy tempest thair wraithfulnes re-
uenge,
And lat thy storme thair pryde in purteth
change.”

It is contained in ‘Der Gantz Psalter, das ist alle Psalmen Davids an der zal 150,’ &c. Zürich, 1537 (No. 1221a, 27, B. Museum).

P. 106. *Qui habitat in adiutorio*. Psalm lxxxj.—There are three early German versions of this psalm—the first by Meuslin or Mösel, which appeared in the ‘Salmingische Gesangbuch’ of 1537 (W. K. L., iii. No. 945), the second by Heyden a few years later (do., 604), and the third by Waldis. The second, which is in nine seven-lined stanzas, perhaps comes nearest to the eight eight-lined stanzas of the Scottish poet, but none of them come very near. The earliest Danish version, like the Scottish one, is in eight stanzas of eight lines each, but there is no marked similarity between them. The version of Heyden is said to have been published when Nurnberg was visited by the plague, and it is directed to be sung to the tune of Luther’s Psalm cxxx., which was specially appropriate for such a season.

In v. 2, l. 8, C. has *buklair* for *buklar*, in v. 6, l. 8, *plage* for *plaig*, and in v. 7, l. 8, *know* for *knew*.

P. 109. *In exitu Israell*. Psal. cxij.—Such it is according to the numeration of the Vulgate, and it contains as one continuous psalm what in the numeration of the Hebrew is cxv. as well as cxiv. There is no division between them in A., B., and C. any more than in the Vulgate, though Mr Laing has inserted within brackets an additional heading, and given the two parts the Hebrew numeration. The old Danish version also treats the two psalms as one. In W.’s K. L., iii. No. 910, a German metrical version of the lines against idols is entered as “Ein stück aufs dem cxiii. Psalmens.” “Hie fahend die Hebraer den cxv. an, aber in Vulgat Psalm cxvi. der Hebraer ist Psalmen cxiv. cxv.” The only complete German version given in W.’s K. L. is in vol. iii. Nos. 124, 125, which, however, as first printed at Strassburg in 1525, were one continuous composition, consisting of six stanzas of twelve lines each, with Alleluia, Alleluia, at the end of each stanza. This German version by Greiter in all probability was the source from which the Scottish poet drew, though, if to be

divided, his version can only be so into stanzas of four lines. The German confirms the reading of A., B., C. in line 2, *barbour*—i.e., barbarous—instead of *harbour* as in D. Mr Laing printed that in his text, but corrected it in his note on the psalm. B., as well as A. and C., reads *barbour*.

“ Do Israel auss Egypten zoch
und do das haus Jacob dannen stoch
von dissem fremdem volck.”

“ Quhen fra Egipt departit Israell,
And Jacobis house fra peple *barbour*
fell.”

In line 4 from the end C. omits *thé* before *loue*.

P. 111. *Nisi quid Dominus*. Psal. cxliii.—There were several German versions of this psalm, two of the earliest, and both in three seven-lined stanzas, being those of Luther and Sachs, the former of which appeared in 1524 (W. K. L., iii. No. 27) and the latter in 1527 (do., No. 97). It is that of Hans Sachs, which is translated both by Wedderburn and Coverdale; but the former has expanded his version into four stanzas, while the latter has completed his in three. As to the merits of the two translations I have nothing to add to what I have said at pp. lvii, lviii, where both are given at length.

In v. 2, l. 4, *slycht* is evidently the right reading, as in Psal. lxxxiiij., l. 7, p. 104, as is also *peirsit* in v. 2, l. 6, the other reading *perishit* being possibly at first a misprint for *peirschit*. As stated in the notes, p. 111, lines 2 and 3 of the first stanza are transposed in D.

P. 112. *De Profundis*. Psal. cxxx.—This is a translation of Luther's famous version “Aus tieffer noth^h schrey ich zu dyr” (W. K. L., iii. Nos. 5, 6). The former is in four seven-lined stanzas, the latter in five. Wedderburn's version is in five stanzas, as is also Coverdale's, but the versions of both are so free that one cannot say with certainty whether they have had both forms of Luther's version before them or only the first.¹ Coverdale's version, as I formerly said, is one of the most favourable specimens of his merits as a hymn-writer. The third verse is especially noteworthy as a happy rendering of the metaphor in the psalm, and more faithfully expressing the meaning of the Hebrew original than his prose version of it, “My soule doth patiently abyde the Lorde from the one mornynge to the other” :—

“ As the watchemen in the mornynge
Stonde lokynge longe desyrously,
That they myght sé the fayre day sprynge;
So wayteth my soul for the Lorde dayly.
Therefore let Israel wayte styll,
Until it be the Lorde's wyll
To lowse them from adversité.”

In other respects his metrical version, though in the stanza and to the

¹ Coverdale gives the Vulgate numeration (cxxxix.) of the psalm as Luther in his first version of it. Wedderburn gives the Hebrew numeration cxxx. as Luther in his second version.

tune of Luther's, is closer to his own prose version of the psalm than to the German original.

P. 114. *Super flumina Babilonis*. Psal. cxxxvij.—It is wrongly numbered in A., B., C. as cxxxviii. The number in the Vulgate is cxxxvj. and in the Hebrew cxxxvij. The Scottish version is pretty close to the German version of Dachstein, but compresses his five stanzas into three. Coverdale translates the whole five; and a specimen of his version as well as of Wedderburn's has been given at p. lviii. Dachstein's German version appeared in the Strassburg 'Kirchenampt' of 1525, and several later German hymns were written in this stanza to the tune of his version of Psalm cxxxvii.

In v. 1, l. 8, while A. and C. read *hymne*, B. reads *Himme*; in l. 10, where they have *sune*, B. has *sone*. In v. 2, l. 8, Mr Laing reads *glaidness*, but B. as well as A. and C. has *glaidnes*. In v. 3, l. 1, where A. has *Idomeis*, C. as well as B. has *Edomitis*.

P. 115. *Exaltabo te*. Psal. cxliij.—This is its number in the Vulgate, but its number in the Hebrew is cxlv., and by that number this noble psalm has been better known in Scotland in later times. There were at least two early German versions of the psalm—the one by Dachser, which appeared first in one of the Psalters of 1537 or 1538, probably in the 'Der Gantz Psalter' of 1538, which was edited by himself in the latter year; the other by Waldis, which appeared in the Zürich 'Der Gantz Psalter, David's,' of 1537. The first is not given at all by Wackernagel, but in 1895 I had an opportunity of examining it in the British Museum, and besides a certain amount of similarity between them, I found that it consisted of eleven five-lined stanzas, and that the Scottish version could readily be arranged in eleven four-lined stanzas somewhat corresponding to those of the other. The second, which appeared in the Zürich Psalter of 1537, is only given by Wackernagel (K. L., iii. No. 788) from a 'Gesangbuch' of much later date, and though it has coincidences with the Scottish version, these are not very marked, and its stanza is more unlike to that of the Scottish than is the other. There are a few reminiscences of Wedderburn's version in Craig's version of the same psalm in Knox's Psalter, though its longer lines make it not exactly like, and a good deal of Craig's version has been preserved in the long-metre version of our present metrical Psalter.

In p. 115, l. 15, B. and C. have *discryue*, and in l. 19, while they agree with A. in inserting *of* before *remembrance*, they differ from it and coincide with D. in reading *rememberance*.

In p. 116, third last line, A. alone has preserved what Mr Laing in his notes admits to be the correct reading—viz., *leving* men, B., C., and D. having *loving* in that line as well as in the previous one.

P. 117. *Deus venerunt gentes*. Psal. lxxix.¹—The psalms before

¹ In B., C., D., however, the number given is lxxvii., as I think it is also in some of the old German hymn-books.

this are all in their regular order. The three which follow are not so, and were it not that we know Psalm li. was in print by 1546 one might suppose they were a later addition. Wackernagel in the 1870 volume of his 'Kirchenlied' gives no fewer than seven German versions of this psalm (Nos. 64, 233, 611, 612, 914, 1122, 1169), most of which, as I have stated (p. liii. *note*), applying what is said of Israel's troubles to those they were themselves groaning under, and what is said of the heathen, to their religious opponents and oppressors. Even Dieterich in his version (611) seems to do this to a considerable extent, but in his version numbered 612, though it is rather the earlier of the two, he adheres more closely to the text of the psalm. The former consists of nine eight-lined stanzas, the latter of nine in the more favourite German stanza of seven lines. There are nine of these, and though the Scottish version has ten of the same stanzas, it has considerable similarity to this German version, though, as previously stated, its author had also had before him the prose version of the 'Enchiridion Psalmorum' (pp. xlv, lix). He possibly also may have known Spangenberg's version (No. 1122), which, though much shorter than his own, is not without resemblances to it. Notable among paraphrastic translations of the psalm, and adaptation of its contents to the circumstances of Germany in the sixteenth century, is the version of Justus Jonas in fifteen strophes, and his definition of the true Church is every way worthy of a sturdy follower of Luther:—

" Dein heilig Kirche ist nicht Rhom
noch seine wüste pfaffen,
Die Christen Gottes wonung seind,
der alles hat geschaffen :
Der höchste heilig Tempel sind
die tewren waren Gottes kind,
Durchs wort und geist geboren."

In v. 1, l. 2, C. reads *tyrannie*; in v. 2, l. 3, *seruandes*, l. 6, *bodies*; in v. 3, l. 5, *bodies*, l. 6, *unberyit*; in v. 4, l. 7, *ramufe yre*; in v. 5, l. 3, omits *quhilck*; in v. 6, l. 5, B. reads *ouir*; in v. 10, l. 1, *Rewaird*. In v. 5, l. 6, B. as well as A. and C. read *solpit*, and in v. 10, l. 4, *Maestie*, though in the former case Mr Laing reads *folliit*, and in the latter *Majestie*. *Solpit* I take to be the *sowlpit* of Jamieson's Dictionary and the *sowpit* of Gavin Douglas, meaning "drenched."

P. 119. *Miserere mei Deus*. Psal. li.—No German version I have met with has any resemblance to this long paraphrase. The two most noted are those of Hegenwalt and Greiter, both of which were translated by Coverdale, and specimens of both are given by Mr Laing in his Notes (pp. 242, 243). I shall therefore rather give a few specimens of old English versions which have some resemblances in general plan or in some details with the Scottish version, and may possibly have come under the notice of its author. The first of these

is "A Paraphrase of the seven Penitential Psalms in Early English," composed early in the fifteenth century, contained in the Sloane MSS., and published in vol. vii. of the Percy Society's Poetry. It places before each stanza the Latin of the Vulgate, of which the Scottish version gives only the first two or three words. The other, which is from one of the volumes of the Early English Text Society, contains poems both from a Lambeth MS. and from several Harleian MSS. I subjoin the first verse of each, as well as some later verbal coincidences with each other and with the Scottish version :—

FROM SEVEN PENITENTIAL PSALMS
IN SLOANE MSS.

Miserere mei Deus, secundum, &c.

Mercy, Lord, I call and crye,
Thi mercy is redy in every place;
Though I have lyved full synfullie
I putte me fully in thi grace.
There is no synne before thi face
So grete as mercy and pyté.
To synful man thou were never sca[r]ce
Of "Ne reminiscaris Domine."

Averte faciem tuam, &c.

My wycked werkes thou putte away
And fro my synnés turn thi face,
Sorwé and syzhyng is my pley
Wher ever I be in ony place.

[The thief that hang on thé right hand
And sufferit with thé deide,
In the last hour thy mercy fand.]
—Wedderburn.

Cor mundum crea, &c.

Clense me, Lord ! therfore withinne
A rychtful spiryte in me renew.
To thi mercy I will pursew
With "Ne reminiscaris Domine."

Spiritu Principali confirma me.

Graunt me gladnesse of soulys hele,
Conferme me with thi holy gost.

Sacrificium Deo spiritus contribulatus.

Gyf thou wilt offer to God of hevene
A spyrit of gret repentaunce,
Though thou be gylty of synnes sevene
A sorrweful herte is Goddys plesaunce.

FROM DITTO IN HARLEIAN MSS.

Miserere mei, Deus.

Mercy, God, of my mysdede !
For thy mercy that mychel ys,
Late thi pité sprynge and sprede,
Off thi mercy that I ne mys.
After gostliche grace I grede,
Good God, thou graunt me this
That I may lyve in love and drede,
And never after do more amys.

Averte faciem tuam.

Fro my synnes turne thi face,
Do all wickednesse away,
Grete is my gult, gritter is thi grace,
And ellis faileth all our fay.

The theves gult hit was forgeyne
On rode when his bones breke.

Cor mundum crea.

God make thou myn hert clene,
And a rightful spirit in me newe.

Spiritu Principali confirma me.

Of thine helth give me the blisse,
And strenthe me with thi spirit cheef.

Sacrificium Deo.

To God hit is a sacryfice
A synful spirit to sorwee sore,
A meke hert [thou] shal noght despise
Whan repentaunce hit wol restore.

"Ane sacrifice to thé plesand is ane sweit humill hart."

Tunc acceptabis sacrificium, &c.

Then sacrifice thou sall accept
Of treuth and rychteousnes.
—Wedderburn.

Tunc acceptabis.

Than shalt thou sacrifice accepte
Of rychtwisenesse and treuthe entere.
—Harleian MSS.

The Scottish version of Psalm li. in the Bannatyne MS. seems also to have been known from some source to Wedderburn, for two or three lines are exactly, or almost exactly, alike, as well as shorter expressions here and there. I subjoin a few stanzas :—

“ 1. Lord God deliver me, allace !
For thy grit mercy rewth and grace,
Soir mornynge, gruffling¹ on my face,
Rew on my miserie.
Als for the multitud and space
Off thy heich clemenss heir my cace,
And my trespass expell and chace ;
Lord God, deliver me.

2. Wesche me,² and mak my sawle serene
Frome all iniquité that bene ;
Clenge me of cryme and mak me clene,
All vycis for to flie.
For my transgressioun haif I sene,
Quhilk tormentis me with tray and tene,
And ay my syn forgan myne ene,
Lord God, deliver me.

BAN. MS.

Heirfoir avart thy visage cleir,
So that my synnis cum not thé neir ;
Off my misdeidis quhilk dois me deir,
Lord God, deliver me.

3. Onlie to thé I did offend,³
May non but thow my miss amend,
As by thy sermondís thow art kend,
Ourcum all contrairie.
In fylth lo ! I begyn and end,
By syn maternall I am send,
With vyce I vaneiss and mon wend ;
Lord God, deliver me.

4. Thow had to veritie sic zeill,
That of thy wisdome did reweill
Incertane hid thingis for my weill,⁴
And laid before myne e.
For when thy fowth of grace I feill,
I salbe clengit clene as steill,
And quhyttar than the snaw gret deill ;
Lord God, deliver me.”

WEDDERBURN.

Fra my sinnis avert thi face,
My wickitnes expell :
Sen I haif hopit in thy grace,
Thow saue me from the hell.

Instead of the “baleful Bellialis bandis” which we have more than once in the ‘Ballatis,’ we have in these English MSS., as well as in the Bannatyne MS., “beleful Bellialis bache.” I am somewhat doubtful whether the reading in A., p. 126, l. 7, is really “conforme,” or as in these English MSS. “conferme.” It is clearly in B. and C. “conforme,” but in D. “confirme,” which from its correspondence with the Latin is probably the true reading. “Ay singand *Sanctus* sweit.” Such is undoubtedly the reading in A., but B. has “Sanctz’s,” C. “with Sanctz’s,” and D. “with Sainctes.” The reference is evidently to what is termed the “seraphic hymn,” or “Ter Sanctus,” in the “Te Deum,” and in the communion service of the ancient and

¹ *I.e.*, mourning, grovelling.

² “Wesche me againe.”—W.

³ “Onlie to thé I did offend.”—W.

⁴ “The hid thingis of thy godly word.”—W.

medieval Church.¹ Sir David Lyndsay refers to it in his "Dreme."² See notes in Mr Laing's G. G. Ballatis, p. 243, and in his 'Works of Sir David Lyndsay,' vol. i. pp. 232, 233.

C., like B. and D., has *haue* throughout instead of *haif*, and also like B. *nicht*, *richt*, &c.

In p. 120, last line, C. has *mery* instead of *mercy*, and on p. 121, l. 1, *wysche* for *wusche*, l. 11, *reinge* for *regne*; on p. 122, l. 8, *iudgit* for *jugeit*, and l. 11, *iudging* for *jugeing*; on p. 123, l. 23, *riht* for *richt*; on p. 124, l. 22, *thy* instead of *the*; on p. 125, last line, *blisse*, as has D. also; on p. 126, l. 26, *Unto* instead of *And to*; on p. 127, l. 4, *I* is omitted; on p. 129, l. 11, *sche* for *scho*; and on p. 129, l. 23, *grettar* instead of *greitar*. B. on p. 123, l. 10, has *bruik* for *bruke*; on p. 124, n. 3, read *enemeis* instead of *enemies*; on p. 129, l. 23, *benefite*, not *benefice* like A. and C.; and l. 26, *Sanctis* for *Sanctus*.

In Arber's 'Register of Entries in Stationers' Hall,' the following occurs under the years 1557-58: "The spalme [*sic*] of *Miserererey* and 'In te, Domine, Speravi,' with the fontayne or well of lyfe."

P. 130. *Beati omnes qui timent*. Psal. cxxvij.—This is the number of the psalm in the Vulgate, but in the Hebrew it is cxxviii. It was a favourite with the German and Scandinavian hymn-writers. Wackernagel gives three versions of it (K. L., iii. Nos. 8, 602, 783), and the early Danish hymnologists give as many. The two earliest are that of Luther, which appeared in the Erffürdt 'Enchiridion' of 1524, and that of an anonymous poet in the Augsburg 'Enchiridion' of 1527. It is the former which is translated by Wedderburn, but Coverdale has translated both. Luther's version consists of five verses of four lines each, while both Wedderburn and Coverdale have six such verses—the former expanding Luther's second verse into two, and the latter similarly expanding Luther's first verse. No. 602 consists of three strophes of nine lines each, but is so similar to Luther's that Coverdale has been able to a certain extent to use, especially in the first strophe, part of his previous material; but each of the seven-lined strophes of his second hymn corresponds to one of the three nine-lined strophes of the other. There are two lines quite alike in Wedderburn's version and Coverdale's first one—the one in the fifth and the other in the sixth verse:—

"Fra Syone sall the Lord blis thé." "From Sion shall the Lorde blesse thé."
 "Thy childeris childring thou sall sé." "That thy chylde's chyliden thou shait sé."

In v. 1, l. 1, C. reads *sittis*, and v. 3, l. 2, *abound* for "about"; in v. 2, l. 1, B. as well as A. reads *frutefull*, C. *frutfull*, Mr Laing, *fruitefull*, D. *fruitfull*.

¹ Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth.

Pleni sunt cœli et terra gloriâ tuâ.

² Makis louing with sound melodious,

Syngand *Sanctus* rycht wounder ferventlye.

P. 131. *For lufe of one, I mak my mone.*—Here at length we seem to get into a different atmosphere; and though here and there we meet with a spiritual song as well fitted for use in public or private worship as those which have gone exclusively before, I suppose that these may not have been in the original edition of the book but were added to a subsequent edition, along with at least the first batch of those adaptations of secular songs which were intended not to be used in worship either public or private, but to supplant in the household those “*üppigen und schändlichen welt-lieder*” which were shamefully common in Britain as well as on the Continent. The song, the first line of which I have given above, may have been an adaptation of some love-song; but if so, only its first line can have been taken over along with the melody. The alternate lines have double rhymes, and perhaps they might be otherwise arranged in stanzas of nine or eighteen lines as the first eighteen are placed under:—

“ For lufe of one,
I mak my mone,
Rycht secreitlie,
To Christ Jesu,
that Lord maist trew,
For his mercy;
Beseiking that fré,
grant grace to me,
Or I be gone;

And to redres,
my heuynes,
And all my mone.
Or I be deide,
send me remeid,
For thy pietie,
O Lord, quhilk wrocht
all thingis of nocht,
Grant me thy mercy.”

L. 5, *Beseiking*, &c., A. and B. agree in reading as in the text. But C. and D. give different readings, though both agree in preserving the older form of the participle; C. reading “Beseikand that he grant grace to me,” and D. “Beseikand that hee grant mee grace.” The reading of C. seems the preferable one, unless the word “free” were added after “grace” in D.

L. 3 from foot of page, “Sanct Johne did tell, thow heryit hell.” The reference I suppose to be to the medieval tradition, elaborated in the miracle-play entitled “The Harrowing of Hell.” *Harrowing*, according to Skeat, is there simply another form of *harrying*—i.e., *Scotticè*, herying. Editions of the play were published both by Collier and by Halliwell, as also an earlier one from the Auchinleck MS.

In l. 9, C. reads *remid* for *remeid*; in l. 10, *pitie* for *pietie*; and in l. 12, it once more reads *mery* for *mercy*.

P. 132. *Quho is at my windo, quho, quho?*—This is no doubt a spiritualising of the old and well-known secular ballad. Two versions of it, along with their melodies and various later references to it, are given in Chappell’s ‘Song and Ballad Music of the Olden Time,’ vol. i. pp. 140-142, but these go back only to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and the ballad probably existed before her time. In Arber’s print of ‘Register of Entries in Stationers’ Hall’ I find mention (f. 117) of “A Godly new Dyaloge betweene Christe and a synnar meyte for all ages.”

The German Metrical Psalter of 1537 has "Ein gesprech des sünders und Christi." Ritson (p. xcvi) quotes from Beaumont and Fletcher's 'Knight of the Burning Pestle,' not only the verse quoted by Mr Laing from Chappell but the one which follows it:—

" Go from my window, love, go ;	Begone, begone, my juggy, my puggy,
Go from my window, my dear ;	Begone, my love, my dear ;
The wind and the rain	The weather is warm,
Will drive you back again.	'Twill do thee no harm.
You cannot be lodged here.	Thou can'st not be lodged here."

And he adds in a note, "The whole song of which these two stanzas are a fragment is, with some little variation and the original music, preserved in the fourth volume of D'Urfey's 'Pills to purge Melancholy,' 1719. It is also printed at the end of Heywood's 'Rape of Lucrece,' 1620. This is repeated by Chappell."

P. 133. Ll. first and last, *ane stranger*. In the last as in the first line, C. coincides with A. in reading *ane*, while D. reads *a*, as does B. in first line. I think in the last line it reads *ane* and not *any*, as Mr Laing has done. In l. 14, I also find that B. coincides with A. in reading *thy*, though Mr Laing with D. reads *my*, and note 4 on p. 133 requires to be so far corrected. In l. 16, B., C., and D. all read *In*, not *On* as A. ; on p. 134, last line, A. and B. read *sa sair*, but D. has *sa farre*. As stated in note 7, p. 134, B. and D. insert *cheif* in l. 16 of that page before *excellent*, and omit it in l. 17 before *gyde*, where A. and C. place it.

P. 136. *Deus Misereatur*. Psal. lxvii., or, as it is numbered by Luther and Coverdale, lxvi.—It is, like the Danish and Swedish ones, a translation, though by no means so close as they are, of Luther's version, and, like it, is in three strophes of nine lines each. It is one of those pieces which are common to Coverdale and Wedderburn, but with considerable variations, most of which are given by Mr Laing in his notes, and both are given at length in my 'Wedderburns and their Work,' Blackwood & Sons, 1867. It certainly shows several of Coverdale's mannerisms, and a certain dependence on his prose translation of the psalm.

P. 137. *In till ane myrthfull Maij morning*.—In Arber's 'Register of Entries in Stationers' Hall,' f. 132, mention is made of a "ballate" entitled "All in a garden grene, between ij. louers"; but the song here spiritualised by the Scottish poet is rather that found in the Aberdeen 'Cantus' (but evidently an English song of early date), of which the first stanza is subjoined:—

" Into a mirthfull May morning
 As Phebus up did spring
I saw a May both fair and gay,
 Most goodly for to see !
I said to her be kind
 To me that was so pyn'd
For your love truly."

In l. 3, C. reads *walking* instead of *walkand* with A. and B., or *waking* with D., and in the last v. on p. 138 it reads *restorde* and *restorid* instead of *restoird* with A. B.

P. 139. *All my hart ay this is my sang*.—One of the songs mentioned in the ‘Complaynt of Scotland’ is “O myne hart, hay this is my sang,” and here probably we have an appropriation of its initial words and melody to a higher use.

In v. 1, C. has *mircht* for *myrth*; in v. 2, *quhailk* for *quhilk*; in v. 5, *bludde* for *blude*; and in last verse, *luifferis* for *luiffaris* with A., or *luifaris* with B.

P. 140. *My lufe murnis for me, for me*.—This no doubt was the first line of the old plaintive secular song. It was spiritualised in the pre-Reformation Church, for, along with its tune, it is found in an old music-book printed in 1530 by Wynkyn de Worde (formerly C. 31b, now K. 1e, 1, in the British Museum Catalogue). In my ‘Wedderburns and their Work’ I gave it from a copy I had taken in shorthand, but I was not sure that I had in several instances preserved the old spelling. This Mr Graves has most kindly revised for me as under:—

“And I mankynd, haue not in mynd

Who is my loue but God aboue
And on the rode hys precious blode
Whom shold I proue so true of loue,
That king of blys my loue he ys,
The father hys Son from heuyn sent down
The prophesye of Isay
Behold mankynd thy maker most louyng
What ys thy mynd to be so vnkynd,
That virgyns chyld most meke and myld
Hys fathers wyll for to fulfyl
And soffryd deth, as scryptur sayth,
On good fryday, wherfore I say,
Such payne and smart, as in hys hart
Can no man take nor mourning make
The cruel Ieus wold not refuse
And wyth a dart to perce hys hart,
Now Cryst Ihesu of loue most treu
I axe the grace for my trespas
For thy swet name saue me from shame
For Marys sake to the me take,

my loue that morneth for me for me.

that born was of Mary,
he shed to make me fre,
so gentyl & curtes as he,
that mornth so sor for mee.
& borne was of a mayd,
fulfyllid he and sayd,
for thy loue come to dye [dee],
syth I so mourne for the for the.
alonly for my sake,
he came great payns to take,
that we shuld sauyn be
he mournyd sore for me for me.
he suffred¹ for mankynd,
so mekly for hys frend,
to nayel hym to a tre,
thus mournyd he for me.
haue mercy apon me,
that I haue done to the,
and all aduersytye,
and mourn no more for me.”

Iohñ gwynneth.

In v. 2, C. reads *aboue* for *abufe*, and in v. 4, *from aboue* for *fra abufe*.

P. 141. *Tell me now, and in quhat wyse*.—If this is an adaptation of a secular ballad, I have not succeeded in tracing it.

P. 142. *Magnificat anima mea*.—This is another of the pieces common to Wedderburn and Coverdale, though with considerable variations,

¹ Apparently misprinted *suftryd* in the original.

especially in the third and fourth strophes. Pollio's German version is not so closely followed as is the English prose translation in Coverdale's Bible. I subjoin the third strophe in which Wedderburn and Coverdale diverge farthest from each other :—

WEDDERBURN.	COVERDALE.
He schawis strenth, with his arme potent, Declairis him self to be of power, He scatteris all men of proude intent, Euin for thair wickit behaviour, Quhilk regnis in thair hartis everie hour : He puttis downe the nichtie From thair hie estait and greit honour, Excelling ¹ them of law degré.	He sheweth strength with his great arme, Declaryng hymself to be of power, He scatereth the proude to theyr owne harme, Even with the wicked behavoure Of theyr owne hertes every houre, He putteth downe the myghtye From theyr hye seate and great honoure, Exaltynge them of lowe degré.

The prose version is as follows: "He sheweth strength with his arm and scateth them that are proude in the ymagination of their hert. He putteth downe the mightie from the seate, and exalteth them of lowe degré. He fylleth the hongrie with good thinges and letteth the riche go emptye."

P. 144. *Christe qui lux es*.—These are the first words of an old Latin hymn of which there are several slightly varying recensions, just as there are several German translations of it with minor variations from each other, both in pre-Reformation and post-Reformation times. I subjoin the Latin from W. K. L., vol. i. No. 121, and the German from vol. iii. No. 645 :—

" 1. Christe qui lux es et dies noctis tenebras detegis, Lucisque lumen crederis, lumen beatum predicans.	" 1. Christe du byst lycht und de dach, du voriagest de düsternysse der nacht, Du werst gelöuet des lychtes lycht, du predigest kein ander nicht.
2. Precamur sancte Domine, defende nos in hac nocte, Sit nobis in te requies, quietam noctem tribue.	2. Wy bidden dych vel hyllige Herr, beschutte uns yn dessen nacht geuer, Idt sy uns in dy unse row, ein rowsam nacht vorlen uns du.
3. Ne gravis somnus irruat, nec hostis nos subripiat, Nec caro, illi consentiens, nos tibi reos statuatur.	3. Dat up uns nicht valle sware slap, de viendt uns heymlick nicht eriage, Dat flesche im nicht wyke dorch beger, noch make uns dy tho schuldener.
4. Oculi somnum capiant, cor ad te semper vigilet, Dextera tua protegat famulos, qui te diligunt.	4. Lath ogen nemen eren slap, dat herte doch alltyd tho dy wack, Dyne rechter handt stedichlich bewar, de dener de dy leven gar.

¹ So A., B., C., but D. has *extolling*, which Mr Laing deems preferable, so probably is its reading in l. 1, p. 144, "They *thinke*," to that of A., B.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 5. Defensor noster aspice,
insidiantes reprime,
Guberna tuos famulos,
quos sanguine mercatus es. | 5. Herr unse schärmer, se uns an
des lurers vientschap dryff van dann,
Schyck unde regere de dener dyn,
de mit dynem blöde gekofft syn. |
| 6. Memento nostri, Domine,
in gravi isto corpore ;
Qui es defensor animæ
adesto nobis, Domine. | 6. Gedenke an uns, O Godt unde Her,
de wy syn yn dessem lyue swer,
De du der sele beschermer byst,
wess by uns, Here, tho aller fryst. |
| 7. Deo Patri sit gloria
ejusque soli Filio,
Cum spiritu Paraclito,
et nunc et in perpetuum." | 7. Godt vader sy de herlickeyt
unde synem son yn ewickeyt
Dar tho ock gelyck dem hylligen geyst,
van nu an wente yn ewickeyt." |

The Latin version is said to belong to the seventh century and the doxology to have been added later; the German as given above, after Wackernagel, is from the 'Rigische Kirchenordnung' of 1530, but I suppose there must have been a High German form of it, though it is not given by W. The nearest to the Scottish version among the High German renderings of the hymn seems to me to be that of Dachser (W. K. L., iii. No. 808) beginning, "Das liecht und tag ist uns Christus," which is found in the Augsburg hymn-book of 1530; but some of the medieval versions also come pretty close.

The author of the Scottish version no doubt had before him the Latin original as well as one or other of the German translations, but he has not given the unmistakable proof Coverdale has given that he had both, by translating, as the German versions do, the Latin word *hostis* in the third verse *seynde*,¹ not *enemies*, as the Scottish poet does. His translation is quite independent of Coverdale's save in one line—the first on p. 145, where for Coverdale's "Thy servauntes true that love thé wele," he has "Thy awin seruand, that luiffis thé weill." The singular is the reading in all the editions extant, but his previous line as well as both the Latin and German require the plural, which Coverdale has. In l. 1 of the hymn is a Scotticism (*bot and*) I have not often met with. It seems still to linger about Dundee, as the following lines from a plaintive ballad recently published in the 'Evening Telegraph' will show:—

" My Jamie's gane afore me—he
 My stey *but an'* my pride !
 An' oor bairnies three, sae fu' o' glee,
 Been pluckit frae my side ;
 An' I am left my leefu' lane
 In my puir biggin' sma',
 To come or stey i' my canny wey,
 An' dream o' fowk awa ! "

In v. 1, l. 2, C. inserts *ye* before *nicht*; in v. 4, l. 1, it agrees with D.

¹ German, der feind, de viendt.

in reading *to*, for which A., B., have *do*; in v. 4, l. 4, it has *luffis* instead of *luiffis* with A. and B., and Mr Laing has given its reading; and in v. 7, l. 4, it has *moir* instead of *mair*, which the rhyme requires.

P. 145. *Christ is the onlie Sone of God*.—This is the last of the four hymns common to Coverdale and the Scottish poet, and the variations between their versions are comparatively small. The German hymn from which these versions are taken is attributed to Elizabeth Creutziger, wife of Caspar Creutziger. It appeared in the earliest Low German hymnals, and on that account some have attributed it to Knöpken; but by 1529 or 1531 a High German recension of it had a place among the Wittenberg ‘Geistliche Lieder.’ A so-called improved recension of this High German form appeared considerably later in Leipsig and Dresden ‘Gesangbücher,’ but none of its improvements are found in the English or Scottish versions. These keep closer to the original than is Coverdale’s wont, but there are some notable departures from it. The first is in v. 1, l. 3, “We have in Jesse found the rod,”¹ to which not only is there nothing corresponding, but apparently a reference to Christ’s higher nature, as “aus seyn vatters hertzen entsprossen.” It is in v. 2 that the authoress refers to our Lord’s incarnation and mediatorial work. The hymn is further dislocated by the next notable departure from the original—viz., the transposition of vv. 3 and 4, which rather obscures the authoress’s thought of Christ in both. The only other departure from the original I mention is in v. 4, l. 7, “To thirst after no mo,” instead of the authoress’s “thirst *continually* after thee.” No doubt there is Scriptural authority for the other idea in St John iv. 14, but that was not the Scriptural idea the authoress wished to make prominent. I subjoin Miss Winkworth’s translation of stanzas 1, 2, 3 of this beautiful hymn:—

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>“1. O Thou of God the Father
The true Eternal Son,
Of whom ’tis surely written,
That Thou with Him art one;
Thou art the bright and Morning Star,
Beyond all other radiance,
Thy glory streams afar.</p> | <p>2. O let us in Thy knowledge,
And in Thy love increase,
That we in faith be steadfast,
And serve Thee here in peace;
That so Thy sweetness may be known
To these cold hearts, and lead them
To thirst for Thee alone.</p> |
|---|--|
3. Maker of all ! who showest
The Father’s love and might,
In heaven and earth Thou reignest
Of Thine own power and right;
So rule our hearts and minds that we
Be wholly Thine, and never
May turn aside from Thee.”

¹ Referring to Isaiah xi. 1, “There shall come a rod forth of ye kynrede of Jesse.”—Coverdale’s version.

In last stanza, l. 1, C. reads *Awake* with D., but in l. 3 it reads *quhilke* with A., B.

P. 147. *Christ Jesus is ane A. per C.*—This of course should be *A per se*—i.e., *A.* by itself, an expression, as Mr Laing states, “applied by the old Scottish poets . . . to denote a person or thing incomparable.” In the alphabet prefixed to the Shorter Catechism in former times the figure & at the conclusion was called by the old people “*Apersé*” or “*Epersé*” and.

C. has *allane* not only in the last line of v. 1, but also in the last line of v. 2, where *allone* is required by the rhyme, and is found in A., B., D.; and in last line of v. 4 *reigne*, where A., B. read *regne*.

P. 147. *Allone I weip in greit distres.*—This piece is probably meant as a spiritualising of the secular song mentioned in the ‘Complaynt of Scotland,’ or rather an adaptation of its initial line, its stanza, and tune for a higher purpose, as was often done by the contemporary German poets. A ballad was entered in Stationers’ Hall of which the first line was “I weipe for woe, I dye for paine” (Arber’s ‘Register of Entries in Stationers’ Hall,’ f. 131).

P. 148. *The Lord sayis I will schaw.*—From the refrain so common in English as well as in Scottish poems of this date, one cannot but conclude that this piece, if not of Scottish is of English origin, and in the ‘Register of Entries in Stationers’ Hall’ published by Mr Arber, I find one with the following title: “A godly ballate approving by the scriptures that our salvacyon cometh only by Christ.”

In v. 3, l. 2, instead of *throuch* B. reads *throw* and C. *throwch*; and in v. 6, l. 2, instead of *brukkilnes* B. and C. read *brukilnes*.

P. 151. *Greuous is my sorrow.*—This, or the secular ballad on which it is founded, is mentioned in the ‘Complaynt of Scotland.’ This ballad, it can hardly be doubted, was an English song of the latter part of the fifteenth century, preserved (No. 1584) among the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum, and first printed by Mr Ritson in his ‘Ancient English Songs’ (vol. ii. p. 27, ed. 1829), with the title “The Dying Maiden’s Complaint.” It consists of fourteen stanzas, while this spiritualised version of it consists of twenty-one, and the resemblance is not confined to the first stanza. I place a few of them over against the corresponding stanzas of this gude and godlie ballate:—

“1. Grevus is my sorowe,
Both evyne and moro,
Unto myselffe alone
Thus do I make my mowne;
That unkyndnes haith kylld me,
And putt me to this payne;
Alas! what remedy
That I cannot refreyne.

“1. Greuous is my sorrow,
Baith euin and morrow,
Unto my selfe allone;
Thus Christ makis his mone,
Saying, Vnkyndnes hes killit me,
And put me to this paine:
Allace! quhat remedie,
For I wald nocht refraine.

6. Iff ony wyght be here,
That byeth love so dere,

8. My last wyll here I make
To God my soule I betake,
And my wrechyd body,
As erth, in a hole to lie.

9. O harte I thé bequyeth
To hymne that is my deth,
Yff that no harte haith he
My harte his shall be.

12. My tombe ytt schal be blewe,
In tokyne that I was trewe,
To brynge my love from doute,
It shal be wryttinge abowtte
That unkyndnes haith kyllyd me,
And putt me to this payne.

11. Now I besych all ye,
Namely, that lovers be,
My love my deth forgyve,
And soffer hymne to lyve:
Thought unkyndnes haith kylled me
And putt me to this payne,
Yett haid I rether dye
For his sake ons agayne."

12. Geue ony ane be heir,
That will by lufe sa deir.

16. My Saule in thy handis fré,
My last will sall be,
O Father I commit,
Into thy handis my spreit.

18. Go, hart, I thé bequyeth
To hir that was my deith,
Mannis Saule is scho trewlie,
My hart hir hart sall be,
Thocht scho maist unkyndlie slew me.

20. My Tumbe is fresch and new,
In sauing I was trew,
To put mankynde fra dout,
Thair sall be writtin about,
The Jewis King heir dois ly,
Quhome unkyndnes hes slaine.

21. O Father Imperiall,
I pray thé in speciall,
My deith mannis Saule forgeue,
In heuin with me to leue,
Thocht vnkyndlie scho keillit me,
I wald scho had na paine:
For I had leuer die,
For hir saik anis againe."

Arber gives among entries in the 'Register of Stationers' Hall,' f. 84*b*, "The Lamentation of Christe for man," which may possibly have been an adaptation of the same ballad.¹ On p. 151, l. 8, C. reads

¹ At any rate the following has some affinity to it, and still more to that given on p. 271, though tainted throughout with the medieval notion that the Virgin Mother is more tender and compassionate than her divine Son:—

Cryste.

"Rycht & no wrong it is among
Yt I of man complayne,
Affyrmyng this howe that it is
A laboure spent in vayne,
To loue him well, for never a dell
He wyll me loue agayne;
For though that I me sore applye
His fauer to attayne,
Yet yf that shrewe to hym pursue,
That clepyd is Sathan,
Hym to conuert, sone from his hert
I am a banyshed man."

Maria the Mayde.

"I say not naye both nyght & daye,
Swete sonne as ye haue sayde
Man is unkynde, hys faythfull mynde
In maner is half decayed;
But neuer the lesse through ryghtwysenes
Theyrwith be not afrayed;
Yet mercy trewe must contynewe,
And not aparte be layed;
Syth ye from loue came from aboue
Frome your father in trone,
Of lounge mynde to warde mankynde
To dye for hym alone."

—Percy Society, Early Poetry, vol. vi.

And in the same strain of dialogue it continues for twenty pages.

keillit, and in l. 10 *remidie*; on p. 152, l. 12, it concurs with A., D. in reading *nor*, where B. has *not*, and in l. 14 it reads *sich*, as B. also does; on p. 153, l. 2, C. reads *scourgis* and *stang* instead of *strang*, in l. 11 it reads *theiffis*, and l. 12 *greiuis*; on p. 154, l. 2, *keillit*, l. 10, *dois keill*, l. 11, *puttis* me to *greit* paine; on p. 155, l. 1, *vyllany*, where A., B. have *vylanie*; on p. 156, l. 18, *merely* for *merilie*, and l. 25, *now* for *new*.

P. 158. *Iohne, cum kis me now*.—The earliest appearance of this widely known ballad is said to be in Queen Elizabeth's 'Virginal Book.' Chappell, in vol. i. pp. 147, 148, gives it and its tune, and mentions various later books in which it is contained or in which allusions to it occur. He says that it has been claimed as Scottish on account of the use made of it in this early compendium of "Gude and Godlie Ballates" (and this is at least sufficient to show that it must be of earlier date than Elizabeth's time), but he maintains that it has no distinctively Scottish character, and that no old Scottish copy of it has hitherto been discovered. A copy of the tune in some sol-fa form of musical notation has recently been brought to light by my friend Alex. Hutcheson, Esq. of Herschell House, Broughty Ferry, from a collection of psalms and songs and tunes found in a MS. in the library at Panmure House, which is supposed to date from the close of the seventeenth century; but even this is more than a century too late. The words of the song are not contained in the MS. Nor are they, save the first line, given by Chappell along with the tune. This line is—

"John, come kiss me now, now, now."

He gives the first three verses of the "godlie ballad," and states that the tune was extremely popular as dance music, of which he gives several illustrations from authors of the seventeenth century. Perhaps the satirical ballad, of which the first lines are given by Knox, and said by him to be the song of triumph over the taking of St Andrews castle, was meant to be sung to the same tune:—

"Preasts content you now, [now, now]
Preasts content you now,
For Normond and his cumpany
Hes filled the galayis fow."

In vol. iii. p. 365 of Henley and Henderson's edition of Burns, in a note on that poet's adaptation of the old song, the following fragment of an older version found in Herd is given:—

"John, come kiss me now, now, now !	Some will court and compliment,
O John, come kiss me now !	And make a great ado,
John come kiss me by and bye,	Some will make of their guidman,
And mak nae mair ado.	And sae will I of you."

An old copy of the husband's answer to the above song, found in a

MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, was printed by Andrew Lang, Esq., in 'Longman's Magazine' for November 1895 (pp. 107, 108), and with his kind permission is here inserted:—

"JON COM KISSE ME NOW.

'Jon come kisse me now now, Jon come kisse me now,
Jon come kisse me by and by, and mak no mor adow.'

His answer to y^t sam toon.

'Peace I'm angrie now now, peace I'm angrie now,
Peace I'm angrie at the hert, and knowe not q^t to dow.

Wyfs can faine and wyfs can flatter: heav I not hit them now,
When once they beginn they still doe chatter, and so does my wyf too.

Wyfs ar good and wyfs ar bad: heav I not hit, &c.
Wyfs can make ther husbands mad, and so does my, &c.

Wyfs can sport and wyfs can play: heav I not hit, &c.
And w^t little work passe ower the day, and so does my, &c.

And wyfs hes many fair words and looks: heav I not, &c.
And draws sillie men on folie's hooks, and so did my wyfe too.

Wyfs will not ther meeting misse: heav I not, &c.
A cowl of seck they can well kisse, and so can, &c.

Wyfs can dance and wyfs can lowp: heav I not, &c.
Wyfs can toome the full wyne stowp, and so can, &c.

Wyfs can ban and wyfs can curse: heav I not, &c.
Wyfs can toome ther husbands purse, and so can, &c.

Wyfs can flyte and wyfs can scold: heav I not, &c.
Wyfs of ther tounge they heav no hold, and nane hes my wyf too.

Wyfs they'r good then at no tym, neither is my wyf now,
Except it be in drinking wyn, and so is my wyf too.

Some they be right needful evils, so is my, &c.
Wyfs are nothing else but divles, and so is, &c.

Now of my song I make ane end, lo heir I quyt the now,
All evill wyfs to the divle I send, amongst them my wyf too.

Peace I'm angrie now, now, peace I'm angrie now,
Peace I'm angrie at the hert, and cannot tell q^t to dowe.'"

On p. 158, l. 19, *creatures* should be *creaturis*, but C. reads *creaturis*; in l. 29, *Of pure lufe* is undoubtedly the true reading, but B., C., D. all read *O pure lyfe*; on p. 159, l. 3, A., B., C. all read *attene-ment*, for which Mr Laing reads with D. *attonement*; C. in l. 5, reads *death* for *deith*, in l. 16, *hier* for *heir*, and in l. 22, *sought* for *socht*; on p. 160, l. 5, *thow* did for *did thow*, and in l. 6, *seking* for *seiking*; in l. 21, B. reads *Preicheouris* not *preichours*, and in l. 26, *Ey*, not *eye*. On p. 161, C. reads in l. 5, *suddantly*, and in l. 11, *ieict* for *reieict*.

P. 161. *In te Domine Speraui.* Psal. xxxj.—The only German version of this given by Wackernagel is that of Reusuer, which appears in the ‘Form und ordnung Geystlicher Gesang und Psalmen,’ Augsburg, 1533. The Scottish version has some general resemblance to it, but has not the same form of stanza, nor can it be sung to the same tune. A close and spirited translation of Reusuer’s version, and adapted to its tune, has been given by Miss Winkworth, and I subjoin some verses of it:—

“1. In the Lord have I put my trust,
Leave me not helpless in the dust,
Let not my hope be put to shame
But still sustain, thro’ want and pain,
My faith that thou art aye the same.

5. The world for me hath falsely set
Full many a secret snare and net,
Dark lies, delusions sweet and vain;
Lord hear my prayers, and break these
 snares,
And make my path before me plain.

2. Incline a gracious ear to me,
And hear the prayers I raise to thee,
Show forth thy power and haste to save!
For woes and fear surround me here,
Oh swiftly send the help I crave!

6. With thee, Lord, would I cast my lot;
My God, my God, forsake me not,
O faithful God, for I commend
My soul to thee; deliver me
Both now, and when this life shall end.”

On p. 162, l. 10, B. reads *byde*, C. *hyd* for *hyde*. In note 6, the reading of *defendar* for *defence* in l. 12 is attributed to B. instead of to D. “Bailfull Balialis bandis” occurs in l. 15, and again on p. 168, l. 23.

P. 162. *Go, hart, vnto the lampe of lycht.*—In v. 4, l. 1, the reading should evidently be *full meik* as in D., but *full* is wanting in A., B., C.; in l. 3, D. reads *hailth is for all flesh*, while A., B., C. read *heill is for all seik*, and rightly so; in l. 4, B. seems to read *my Sauour*, while A., C., D. read *thy Sauour*, which the sense requires.

P. 163. *Our brother lat vs put in graue.*—I deem it unnecessary to repeat here what I have already said, pp. xxxvii, xxxviii, regarding one of the most cherished of the hymns translated or composed by Michael Weisse, pastor at Landskron and Fulnek. The foundation of his collection was the old hymns of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, which he translated into German and combined with a number of beautiful hymns composed by himself.¹ Wackernagel

¹ “When the Reformation began the Bohemian Brethren were among the first to hail it; as early as 1522 they sent messengers to Luther to wish him success and confer with him on questions of Church discipline. One of these was Michael Weisse, who afterwards became pastor of the German-speaking congregations of Landskron and Fulnek, and for their benefit translated into German the finest of the Bohemian hymns, adding some of his own. Luther greatly admired and highly recommended this hymn-book; it was republished by their bishop, John Horn, . . . and passed through many editions both in Germany and in Holland” (Winkworth’s ‘Christian Singers in Germany,’ pp. 135, 136). Weisse’s collection fills 120 pages of Wackernagel’s third volume, by much the largest space allowed to any single writer. To Horn are allotted eighteen pages.

mentions three editions of the collection, which were published in 1531, 1544, and 1566, K. L., iii. p. 229; but a number of the hymns were early adopted with slight alterations into the Lutheran hymnals (do., 332), and this one was not only appropriated and treasured by the Germans, but early passed from them to the Danes and the Swedes as well as to the Scotch, and in our own day Miss Winkworth has given a very beautiful version of it to the English. It originally contained only seven verses, but an eighth verse, attributed by some to Luther,¹ was added in a Magdeburg hymnal of 1540, and soon was generally adopted both in Germany and Scandinavia. When and why the four additional verses, which hold a place in the Scottish version between the seventh and eighth of the German, were inserted, I have explained in the Introduction. I subjoin the German and English versions of this favourite hymn :—

“ 1. Nun last uns den leib begraben,
daran wir kein zweifel haben,
Er werd am Jüngsten tag aufstehen,
und unverweslich herfür gehn.

2. Erd ist er, und von der erden,
wird auch zu erd wider werden,
Und von der erd wider aufstehen,
wen er Gottes Posaun wird anhehn.

3. Sein seel lebet ewig in Gott,
der sie alhie aus lauter gnad,
Von aller sund und missehat,
durch seinen Son erlöset hat.

4. Sein iammer, trübsal und elend,
ist kommen zu eim selgen end,
Er hat getragen Christus ioch,
ist gestorben und lebet doch noch.

5. Die seel lebet on alle klag,
der leib schlefft bis an Jüngsten tag,
An welchem Gott ihn verkleren,
und ewiger freud wird gewehren.

6. Hie ist er in angst gewesen,
dort aber werd er genesen,
In ewiger freud und wonne,
leuchten wie die helle Sonne.

7. Nun lassen wir ihn hie schlaffen,
und gehen all heim unser strassen,
Schicken uns auch mit allem fleiss
denn der todt kömpt uns gleichem weiss.

“ 1. Now lay we calmly in the grave
This form, whereof no doubt we have,
That it shall rise again that day,
In glorious triumph o'er decay.

2. And so to earth again we trust
What came from dust, and turns to dust,
And from the dust shall surely rise,
When the last trumpet fills the skies.

3. His soul is living now in God,
Whose grace his pardon hath bestowed,
Who through His Son redeemed him here,
From bondage unto sin and fear.

4. His trials and his griefs are past,
A blessed end is his at last,
He bore Christ's yoke and did His will,
And though he died he liveth still.

5. He lives where none can mourn and
weep,
And calmly shall this body sleep,
Till God shall Death himself destroy,
And raise it unto glorious joy.

6. He suffered pain and grief below,
Christ heals him now from all his woe;
For him hath endless joy begun,
He shines in glory like the sun.

7. Then let us leave him to his rest,
And homeward turn, for he is blest,
And we must well our souls prepare,
When death shall come, to meet him there.

¹ But expressly disclaimed by him.

8. Das helff uns Christus unser trost,
der uns durch sein blut hat erlost,
Vons Teuffels gwalt und ewiger pein,
Ihm sey lob, preis und ehr allein."

8. So help us Christ our hope in loss !
Thou hast redeemed us by Thy cross
From endless death and misery ;
We praise, we bless, we worship Thee."

In v. 1, ll. 1, 2, C. coincides with A. in reading *lat* for *let*; in v. 3, l. 3, it coincides with B. in reading *caus* for *cause*; in v. 4, l. 4, it reads *liuand* for *leuand*; in v. 9, l. 1, it reads *preuent*, as also does B., but in reprint of it this has been corrected; and in v. 11, l. 1, it reads *and* for *end*. In v. 7, l. 4, *approachis* should be *approchis*.

P. 165. *Musing greittlie in my mynde*.—This piece is in all probability an adaptation of a secular ballad. The refrain in the same or kindred words is well known in that connection, and there may possibly have been a similar adaptation of the secular ballad at a somewhat earlier date in England than in Scotland; for, according to the 'Register of Entries in Stationers' Hall,' a ballad intituled "The lamentation of the mesyrye of mankynde" was repeatedly printed in the early years of Elizabeth's reign. See Arber's 'Transcript,' ff. 74. Chappell (p. 59) gives in connection with a very old song the refrain, "Down-a-down, hey down, hey down," varied by "With a down, derry, derry, derry down."

In v. 2, l. 2, C. reads *gratious* where A., B. have *gracious*; in v. 3, l. 3, *fade* where A., B. have *faid*; in v. 5, l. 3, *climnis* where they have *clymnis*; and in v. 7, l. 1, *Empriour* where they have *Empreour*.

P. 167. *Pray God for grace, my lufe maist deir*.—In v. 1, l. 1, *dear* is a misprint for *deir*. In v. 3, l. 2, C. reads *asperance* instead of *esperance*, and in l. 3, *receaue* instead of *ressaue*; in v. 4, l. 3, *repoys* for *repois*; and in v. 5, l. 1, *olney* for *onely* or *onlie*, as in A., B.

P. 168. *Downe be zone Riuer I ran*.—The first stanza of this piece has only five lines, while all the others have six. No doubt, as in several previous instances, a line has dropped out—viz., the third in the stanza—which in the others rhymes with l. 6. The ballad I take to be an adaptation of a secular love ballad, as were so many of the same sort in Germany in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

In v. 1, l. 1, C. reads *zon* for *zone*, and in l. 4 *boght* for *brocht*, which A., B. have; in vv. 2, 3, *luif* thrice for *lufe*, as in A., B.; in v. 3, l. 5, *persit* where A., B. have *peirsit*; and in v. 6, l. 4, *prais* where they have *pryse*.

P. 170. *With heuie hart full of distres*.—This also is, no doubt, an adaptation of the stanza, tune, and initial words of a secular ballad. Mr Laing states in his notes on it (pp. 221, 254) that it is one of those which, so far as preserved, were copied for him by the late Rev. Dr Hugh Scott from the fly-leaves of an early volume of the records of the kirk-session of Inverness (1604-1616). I have made all possible inquiries after the volume, but I am informed that it has never been in the possession of the present session-clerk, and that neither he nor Dr Norman Macleod know what has become of it. Only the first

seven verses were preserved in the fragment. The various readings he has given differ merely in the spelling or arranging of the words, as in l. 8, *salve* where A. has *saif*, and B., C. *saue*; in l. 20, *healls*, *earthlie*, where A., B., C. have *haillis*, *eirdlie*; or in l. 8, where after *me* it inserts *sinful* and omits *thy*; l. 14, where for *borne and gottin* it reads *gottin and borne*; and in l. 23, where for *trew Scripture* it reads *haill Scriptoure*. I conclude that in l. 26 it had the rare word *susseit*, like A., B., C., as Mr Laing makes no mention of any variation.

In v. 1, l. 1, C. reads *heuy* for *heutie*; in v. 2, l. 2, *dispesche* for *depesche*. Generally C. coincides with A., B. in the various readings given in the notes, as against D.: it does so even in regard to the rare word *susseit*; but in v. 9, l. 2, it has *wroucht* for *wrocht*. Substitute in v. 7, l. 4, as the various reading of B. *saue*, and for that of C. *zit saif me*, in room of that in note 4.

P. 171. *Welcum, Lord, Christ, welcum againe*.—This, as stated on p. lxxvi, is an adaptation of “Welcum Fortoun” to a higher than any earthly love. In v. 1, l. 2, for *bliss* read *blis*; for note¹¹ on same line read *confort*, A. B., *comfort*, D. In v. 2, l. 3, C. reads *syd* for *syde*, and in v. 4, l. 2, *praise* for *pryse*.

P. 173. *O Christ, quhilk art the lycht of day*.—The similarity of the first verse of this hymn to that on p. 144 of course is at once apparent, but the Scottish poet was by no means singular in thus making a particular application of the general truth taught in the original. The German hymn-writers frequently do so in regard to several of the Psalms, and even in regard to this particular hymn Urbanus Regius had preceded the Scottish poet in making application of it to the circumstances of his own time, though he makes more specific reference to Wittemberg and the teaching of Luther, and for the “Prince of all vnrycht,” substitutes him whom he and his fellow-poets (whose productions follow his in W. K. L., iii. 413 to 440) regarded as his visible representative. I give the first four verses of his piece, written, it is said, in 1524 (K. L., iii. No. 478):—

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>“1. Christ, der du bist das liecht und tag,
des yetz uns Wittemberg vermag,
Glauben wir recht dem liechtes scheyn,
so Martin Luther fietet ein.</p> | <p>3. Unser augen ietz sehen clar,
Jesum, der uns verborgen war,
Durch falsche leer und menschen
gschwetz,
und auch der Teüffelisch gesetz.</p> |
| <p>2. Wir bitten, Herr, dein heylyg güet,
das sy uns Martin Luther bhüet
Durch den du yetz an liecht hast bracht,
des Bapsts gesetz die finster nacht.</p> | <p>4. Herr, unser schirmer sey und bleyb,
das Martin Luther noch frisch schreyb,
Den du erweckt hast uns zu gut
des beüt er dar sein leyb und blut.”</p> |

Sum makis God of freiris caip—i.e., cope or cloak, to the wearing of which by the dying or dead special virtue was attributed.

In v. 1, l. 4, B., C. read *perfyte*, A. *perfite*; in v. 2, l. 3, C. with A.,

B. reads *expellis*; in v. 3, l. 2, it reads *ouerspred*, and in v. 4, l. 2, *ledand*, both with A., D.; in v. 5, l. 3, *inuentit* with A., B.; in v. 6, l. 1, *stock* with A.; in ll. 1, 2, *waikis* where A., B. have *makis*; *Goddis* with B., while A. has *God*; in v. 8, l. 2, *refusit* with A., B., D., not *rufusit* as in reprint of B.; and in v. 11, l. 1, *craknit* with A., where B. has *crakit*, and D. *raknit*.

P. 174. *With huntis vp, with huntis vp*.—"The tune," Mr Chappell tells us, "was known as early as 1537." The words usually given with it are said to have been composed by one Gray, who did grow "unto good estimation with King Henry and afterwards with the Duke of Somerset, Protector for making certaine merry ballades, whereof one chiefly was '*The hunte is up, the hunte is up*.'"

" The hunt is up, the hunt is up, And it is well nigh day, And Harry our king is gone hunting To bring his deer to bay.	The east is bright with morning light, And darkness it is fled. And the merie horne wakes up the morn To leave his idle bed."
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A religious parody of the song written by John Thorne has been printed by Mr Halliwell at the end of the moral play 'Wit and Science,' together with other curious songs from the same manuscript in which it is found (Add. MS. No. 15,233, Brit. Mus.). There are seventeen verses, and the first is as follows:—

" The hunt ys up, the hunt ys up,
Loe it is allmost daye,
For Christ our Kyng is cum a huntyng,
And brought his deare to stayer."

It narrates the creation of the world and of man made in the image of God, his fall through the temptation of the devil, the mission of Christ for his redemption, the provision made for his spiritual necessities and the keepers intrusted to guard his deer against the thief and wolf, the woe awaiting them if they are unfaithful, and the bliss of those who are faithfull whether their keepers are so or not:—

" For yf they do not They wyll have the rot; What wyll the Lord then saye When he shall weve Of his deere and yowe At that most dredeful daye?	Whereby this is cleere, If so be his deare Wythin the park persever, Then shall they rejoyse, To heere his sweete voyce And be his deere for ever."
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The history of the Saviour's passion is given in the poem following this one almost with as much detail as it is in several of these godlie ballads,¹ but without almost any verbal coincidences. The title of the poem is—

"Nolo mortem peccatoris: hæc sunt verba Salvatoris,"

¹ As "Johne, cum kis me now," "Greuous is my sorrow," &c.

the first half of which is the refrain at the close of each of its twenty-three stanzas.

In v. 7, "He had to sell the Tantonie bell," on which Mr Laing remarks, "Evidently the bell of St Anthony," although Dr Jamieson, in his Dictionary, explained it as a "small bell," from the French *tintoner*, to resound; but in the supplement to his Dictionary he admitted that it might refer to St Anthony, as Lord Hailes had previously done. In a later ballad we have "Gif ze will geue thame caip or bell, the clink thairof thay will zow sell."

In v. 1, l. 2, C. reads *perfyte* where A., B. have *perfile*; in l. 3, C. like D. reads *gane*, which Mr Laing adopts, but B. as well as A. reads *gaine*; in v. 2, l. 3, C. reads *crep*, where A., B. have *creip*; in v. 5, l. 3, C. has *pnnies* (*sic*) where A., B. have *pennais*, D. *pence*, which suits the rhyme. In v. 9, l. 3, B., C. read *dispens* where A. has *dispence*, and in v. 10, l. 4, *obsoluit* where A. has *absoluit*. In v. 11, l. 1, C. has *wait* where A., B. have *wot*, which the rhyme requires, while in l. 4, C. has *als* where A., B. have *ellis*. In v. 12, l. 4, *Thoct* is a misprint for *Thocht*.

P. 177. *Baneist is Faith now euerie quhair*.—This I take to be an adaptation of some secular ballad, of which the refrain may have been—

"Allace! thairfor my hart is sair,
And blyith I cannot be,"

both lines having a place in the first stanza and the second of them in the two succeeding stanzas. But I have come on no trace of such a ballad, unless that in the 'Complaynt of Scotland' entitled "Fayth is thair none" may be regarded as such. The piece was evidently composed when the fortunes of the Reformed were at a very low ebb, probably soon after the Regent Hamilton had dismissed his Protestant preachers and fallen under the influence of the Cardinal, and with troops had accompanied him first to Dundee and then to Perth, where there were not a few of the burgesses favourable to the new views, who, however, took care to be out of the way at that time.

In v. 1, l. 2, C reads *forthinkes*, and in l. 6 of that verse and of the two following ones it reads *blyth* where A., B. have *blyith*, and in ll. 1, 3, v. 2, it reads *wount* where A., B., D. read *wont*.

P. 178. *Musing greittie in my mynde*.—This piece is evidently related to the previous one inserted at pp. 165, 166, having its first line the same; but the second, which was previously applied to the folly of man in forgetting his frailty and mutability, is now applied to the folly and obstinacy of the triumphant Kirkmen in dealing so cruelly with the favourers of the Reformation, urging them to take warning from the fate of others who for a time had been permitted to hold God's people "in thrall," and assuring them that if they would no longer impugn the truth, and "in thair office be nocht sleuth," Christ

on them "suld haif sic reuth" that "they suld not cum downe." In the last verse, l. 3, though *wark* and *are* are printed as two separate words both in A. and B., I have no doubt that *warkand* in one word, as it is given in C. and in Mr Laing's reprint of B., is the preferable reading. On the other hand, C. leaves out *Thocht* in v. 5, and *of* in v. 7.

P. 180. *The Bischop of Hely brak his neck*.—In the Introduction (pp. xxi, xxii) I have given a pretty full account of the probable time at which this ballad was composed, and of the circumstances which called it forth, and I have nothing material to add to what I have already said. This ballad, like the last, ends with a prayer that the dominant ecclesiastics might be brought to a better mind, and a warning of the danger they might incur if they were not.

In v. 1, l. 1, A., B. both read *neck*, and so also does C., and so also A., B. do in v. 2, l. 8, where C. reads *nek*. In v. 3, l. 5, where A., B. read *Helis*, C. reads *Heliis* or *Hellis* (it is not quite clear which); the latter of course might lead the way to the reading of D., which is *Helles*. In v. 4, l. 2, *Tharis* is the reading of B. as well as of A. That may possibly be only a misprint for *Pharis*, which is the reading given by Mr Laing and D.¹ In l. 4, p. 182, C. has *obuse* for *abuse*, and *ruttit* for *rutit*, and in l. 7, *vageour* for *wageour*.

P. 182.—*I am wo for thir wolfis sa wyld*.—Whether this piece has any relation to "A petyous lamentation of ye miserable estate of the church of Christe," I cannot say. It reiterates the complaints made of the blindness and obduracy of their spiritual guides. I have already made reference to vv. 4, 5 in my Introduction (p. xxvii). The laity, and especially "nobill Lordis of greit renowne," are entreated not to countenance them in suppressing "the word of Christ," and not to be led away even by their specious professions of patriotism and concern for "commoun weill," "for sa thay think to bleir zour E, and syne at zow to hount." Scotland, the writer says, was never in harder case since first the Scots came into it. The reference is evidently, as in a previous ballad, to the events of 1543-44, when the Regent under

¹ But it is also possible that the reference is really to Tharis or Thares, one of the two eunuch chamberlains of Ahasuerus whose treason was disclosed by Mordecai and punished by the king. Theresh is the form of the name as given in chapter vi. of the canonical book of Esther, but in the apocryphal ch. xii. it is as given above in Coverdale's version; and in his "Maner to saye grace," to which he appends "shorte instructions to kinges and princes, to judges, counsellours," &c., he gives the following:—

"To Chamberlaynes.

"Beware of Thares & Bagathan,
Lest treason in the Chambre be sowne,
For if the court be ruled by Haman
Poore Mardocheus is overthrowne;
But when the treuthe is thorowly knowne,
He shall be founde a faythfull Iue
And to his prince a subiecte true."

clerical influence broke off the treaty with Henry VIII., and so afforded the latter a pretext for sending an army into Scotland. The numbers of that army are greatly exaggerated; but those of the English army of 1542 are even more so by an English exile then in Germany, who, in writing to Bullinger of Zürich, says it consisted of more than a hundred and twenty thousand men.¹

On p. 183, l. 5, C. reads *birnd* where A., B. have *brint*. In l. 23, B., C. read *Antichristis* where A. has *Antechristis* and D. *Antechristes*. On p. 184, l. 10, C. has *hardar* for *harder*, and l. 23, *wyffis* for *wyfis*. In same line A., B. have *sylde* and C., D. *syld*, but Mr Laing gives *fylde*.

P. 185. *Allace! unkyndlie, Christ we haif exilit*.—I do not suppose this piece is adapted from a secular poem, though possibly it may have been meant as a parody on or reply to a religious song on the other side.

In the last line of each stanza C., D. read "Fathers of haly Kirke this xvj. hunder zeirs," where the earlier editions (A., B.) have xv. hunder zeiris." In l. 1, p. 185, C. reads *unkyndly* and *exylit*; in l. 7, it reads *water* with B., D., while A. has *watter*. In notes 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, its readings coincide with those of A., B. In l. 1, p. 186, C. alone reads *suppois*, *wrak*, and in l. 3, *quire*. In l. 11 it omits the *o* before *ze*; in l. 12 it reads *posound* for *poisound*.

P. 186. *Of the fals fyre of Purgatorie*.—None of the medieval traditions met with more contemptuous treatment at the hands of the Reformers than those relating to Purgatory, belief in which had brought into the possession of the Church so much of the land and wealth of most of the countries of Europe. To Latimer and other preachers in England "Purgatory Pickpurse" was an unfailing theme for jest and satire. To the Huguenot poet of 1532 it was so also:—

" Ne demandez plus dons
laissez tous ces pardons :
Car votre purgatoire
La bourse a trop purgé."

Quhill half the ryches on the molde is seasit in their handis.—The enormous amount of land and money which had come to the religious orders in Scotland, and one condition almost always attached to which was that of praying for the souls of the donor and his kin, is fully acknowledged by the most impartial modern historians as well as by those of the time of the Reformation.

In v. 3, l. 4, read "Fundatouris" as in B., C. In v. 5, l. 1, C. has *hich* where A., B. have *heich*, and in l. 2, *hie* where they have *greit*. In v. 6, l. 1, C. reads "Thought thay *snuffe*," and in l. 4, "mischryve."

P. 187. *Way is the Hirdis of Israell*.—This piece is singularly akin

¹ Hilles to Bullinger, 'Original Letters, 1537-58, relative to the English Reformation' (Parker Society's issue), p. 237.

to Gau's statement (p. 104), "Wa is me and I prech notht the vangel. . . . This consideris notht ye blind giders and pastors quhilk sekis bot the mylk and ye wow of the scheip, quhilk alsua thinkkis nay scheyme to cal thayme selff vicars of Christ and successours of the apostlis. O say lik, say lik ! ye quhilk ze sal onderstand hesz hapnit for three causis. The first is ignorance of the wangel to the quhilk thay haiff giffine na cuir thir mony zeris bot to thair awne tradicions. . . . The second causz is thair voluptuousz and fleschlie liff (quhilk thay haiff of the sweit and blwid of the puir), and as the suine trampis the precious perilis onder thair feit, sua thir fleschlie men lichtlis the precious peirl of Christis wangel. The third and principal causz is the sekkis N. and N. quhilk ar rissine laitly in the kirk and prechis dremis and fablis, and the tradicions of men and notht the vangel, and giff ony amangis thayme wald prech it thay are haldin for heretikis . . . belewe suerlie in God ze sal heir the vangel prechit amangis yow as amangis oder pepil."

In v. 1, l. 1, C. reads *Vayis* as one word ; in v. 3, l. 3, *costly silk* with D. ; and in v. 4, l. 4, "cummandis."

P. 188. *God send euerie Preist ane wyfe*.—A very sensible ballad on that which occasioned perhaps the greatest scandal in the later medieval Church. Patrick Hamilton, it is now known, married, probably secretly, shortly before his death, and left a daughter, who is mentioned in the Exchequer Rolls. Under the year 1538 Calderwood narrates (vol. i. pp. 123, 124) that Thomas Coklaw, parish priest in Tullibody, married secretly a widow in the same village named Margaret Jameson, but [they] dwelt in separate houses. At last the matter brake forth and he was accused by the Bishop of Dunblane—[the worthy referred to in note pp. xiii, xiv of my Introduction as the father of three illegitimate sons, for whom he provided portions by alienating part of the revenues of his bishopric]. He was condemned to perpetual imprisonment and mewed up between two walls ; but by help of his brother or brother's son breaking down the walls with gavelocks and other instruments, he escaped and fled to England, where he became a minister. Whether there were not others in Scotland as well as in England who secretly followed his example, and kept their secret better, and among them the author of this ballad, though in the eye of the civil as well as of the ecclesiastical judges their marriage was invalid and their children illegitimate, has never been thoroughly investigated. It is evident that the poet had given some thought to the question of the validity of such marriages in the light of the Word of God and the practice of the early Church : "Sen Christis law," &c., "quha dar say contrair it?"

P. 189. *The wind blawis cauld, furius & bald*.—"Drive the cold winter away," Mr Chappell tells us, is the burden of an English song in praise of Christmas. It is entitled "A pleasant country new ditty, merrily showing how to drive the cold winter away," to the tune

"When Phœbus did rest," &c. The tune is in several of the old Dance Music-books, and given by Chappell in his 'Popular Music of the Olden Time' (vol. i. pp. 193-195), along with the words. I subjoin those of the first stanza of the first part, and also of the second :—

" All hail to the days that merit more , praise Than all the rest of the year, And welcome the nights that double delights As well the poor as the peer. Good fortune attend each merry man's friend, That doth but the best he may, Forgetting old wrongs with carols and songs To drive the cold winter away."	" This time of the year is spent in good cheer, And neighbours together do meet, To sit by the fire with friendly desire, Each other in love to greet. Old grudges forgot are put in the pot, All sorrows aside they lay, The old and the young each carol his song To drive the cold winter away."
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If the "gude and godlie" ballad is an adaptation of this song, it has retained nothing of it save the tune and the catch-words. The object of the poet is to show how the frosty blight, which he affirms had fallen on the Church and its spiritual guides, could alone, in the opinion of the new teachers, be remedied, and pristine warmth and sunshine recovered :—

" Saif Christ onlie that deit on tré, He may baith louse and bind : In vtheris mo, geue ze traist so, On zow blawis could the wind.	Now sé ze pray, baith nycht and day, To Christ that bocht vs deir : For, on the Rude, he sched his blude, To saif our Saulis but weir."
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As in "With huntis up" and some others of the ballads, there is a double rhyme in the first and third lines of each verse, and it is arranged throughout in verses of four lines, and not in stanzas of eight lines, like the secular ballad.

In v. 1, l. 1, C. reads *furius* with A., and it agrees with A., B. in all the various readings on l. 4. In v. 2, l. 2, A., B., C. all read *ryte*, though Mr Laing has preferred *vyce*, the reading of D. In v. 4, l. 3, C. reads *suthe* for *suith*, and *ere* for *erre*. In v. 5, l. 3, C. reads *Preists*, and in v. 7, l. 3, *preistes* for *preistis* in A., B.; in vv. 9-13, it coincides generally with A., B. in the various readings in which they differ from D.; but in v. 11, l. 3, it reads *bye*, where A., B. have *by* and D. has *buy*. In v. 14, l. 1, it reads *deit* with A., B., and in l. 3 *so* with them, where D. has *to*. In v. 15 its readings coincide with those of A., B., as given in notes 1, 4, on p. 192.

P. 192. *Hay now the day dallis*.—This piece, whether it be the production of the same or of another poet than the last, was at least written when he was in a more hopeful mood, and when the prospects of the Protestants seemed to him to be brighter. It is an adaptation

of an old secular ballad the tune of which goes back to the times of James IV., being referred by Douglas to the words "The jolly day now dawis," and by Dunbar to the words "Now the day dawis." The words of the old secular song may possibly be those which Montgomerie has given *in extenso*; but he at any rate was posterior in date to the author of this religious adaptation of it. I quote the first stanza as Dr Cranstoun has given it in the Scottish Text Society's edition of Montgomerie's poems:—

" Hay ! nou the day davis ;
The jolie Cok crauis ;
Nou shroudīs the shauīs,
Throu Natur anone.

The thissel-cok cryis
On louers vha līs,
Nou skaillīs the skyīs :
The nīcht is neir gone."¹

Dr Cranstoun holds that "the poem is one of the happiest efforts of Montgomerie's muse, and shows his lyric genius at its best." And he adds that it is perhaps the oldest set of words extant to the air "Hey tuttie tuittie," the war-note sounded for the Bruce on Bannockburn,² and familiarised to every one by Burns's "Scots wha hae." See also what Dr Small says of it in his note on Douglas's reference to it, vol. iv. pp. 245, 246. All that the author of this gude and godlie ballad has taken over from the old secular ballad with the tune is the initial line of the ballad and the refrain which concludes each of its stanzas. About the same time there appeared in England a ballad entitled "An invictive agaynste the Papistes," which may possibly have been brought under contribution; but really the ballad differs little save in expression and mode of treatment of the subject dealt with in several of the preceding very bitter ballads,—the selfishness, hypocrisy, pride, and greed of the ecclesiastics—their neglect of preaching, or substituting for the simple teaching of Scripture the dreams and traditions of men, extolling the virtue of relics, &c. "The arm-bone of St Giles," Mr Laing says, "was regarded as a relique of inestimable value when brought to this country by William Prestoun of Gourtoun, who bequeathed it to our mother kirk of St Gele in Edinburgh, 11th January 1454-55."

¹ The Poems of Alexander Montgomerie, edited by James Cranstoun, LL.D., p. 193.

² Dr R. Chambers, however, asserts there is no authority for the statement that "Hey tuttie tuittie" is the ancient tune of "Hey now the day dawis," nor yet for the tradition reported by Burns that "Hey tuttie tuittie" was Bruce's march at Bannockburn ('Songs of Scotland prior to Burns,' p. 253). Dr Small in vol. iv. pp. 245, 246, quoting I suppose from a later edition of Dr Chambers's 'Scottish Songs' than that accessible to me, traces the song to an English source about the year 1500 which is preserved in the Fairfax MS.; and he himself regards the tune as one which was not only popular with the minstrels in the days of Douglas and Dunbar, but which continued for two centuries to be the *réveille* played by the pipers in their march in early morn through certain Scottish burghs.

Of older date and even greater celebrity were the relics of St Andrew—the arm-bone and three fingers of the right hand—said to have been brought by a certain Regulus to St Andrews, and ultimately deposited in its cathedral. Even the subsidiary altars in the parish church appear to have had relics of the saints to whom they were dedicated. What Church in Scotland professed to be custodian of the head of St John, and whether it was the head of the Baptist—the very head which was struck off by Herod's executioner and presented to Herodias—I do not profess to know. No head or other part of the body of the apostle John was, I am told, claimed as a relic in any church.

P. 194. *Requiem eternam, Anime omnium*.—Fuller references to the *Officium Defunctorum* in the old Church will be found in the ballad entitled "Requiem to the favourites of Henry VI.," in Ritson's 'Ancient Songs,' vol. i. pp. 117-119, ed. 1829.

In stanza 1, l. 4, C. has *appeiris* where A., B. have *apperis*; in stanza 3, l. 1, it reads *Pharisiens* with D., in l. 2, it reads *regnis* with A., B., in l. 6, *zour* with B., D.; in stanza 4, l. 5, it reads *zour* with A., B., in l. 6 *ze*, and in l. 7 *zit* with A., B.; in stanza 5, l. 1, it reads *stock* with A., B., D., where Mr Laing has *stok*; and it agrees with A., B. in the various readings given in notes 7, 8, 10, p. 193; in l. 7, it reads *leisings* with D. In stanza 6, l. 1, it reads *strikkinn*, thus differing both from A., B., and from D. In stanza 7, l. 1, it reads *begylit* with A., B., and in l. 3, *pluke* where they have *pluk*; in l. 7, it reads *sauit* with B., D., but Mr Laing admits (p. 257) that *sanit*, which is the reading preserved in A., is the correct one. In stanza 9, l. 2, it reads *Pondis* where A., B. have *Pundis*, and in l. 3, *Aulter* where A., B. have the same reading.

P. 195. *Preistis, Christ beleue*.—I have said in the Introduction (p. lxxv) that this seems to be an imitation of an early Swiss or French Huguenot song, which was also imitated or translated in Germany and Sweden. Matthieu Malingre, a native of Normandy, who found an asylum in French Switzerland, and latterly was Protestant pastor at Neuchâtel, was the author of it and several other pieces of a similar nature. Pierre de Vingle, descended from a family of Lyonnese printers, and, like Malingre, a refugee in Switzerland, was the printer who, either at Geneva or Neuchâtel, published about 1532 a tiny volume containing this and four similar pieces; and this, the third of them, had so completely disappeared in France, that the authorities of the Society on the History of French Protestantism long hunted for it in vain. The title of the volume was 'Chansons Nouvelles, demonstrant plusieurs erreurs et faulsetez desquelles le pauvre monde est remply par les ministres de Satan.' A copy of the volume, however, had been preserved in the Cantonal Library at Zürich, and from that, or from one of the subsequent impressions now almost as rare, these songs were reprinted in 1871 in 'Le Chansonnier Huguenot

du xvi^e Siècle.' I subjoin a few lines here and there from it, along with corresponding lines in the Scottish ballad :—

“ O ! prebstres, prebstres,
Il vous fault travailler,
Dieu le commande,
ou il vous fault prescher
Purement sa parolle,
~~Sans~~ rien adjouster.
Il vous fault marier,
Et vos commeres du tous fault oublier
N'estes vous pas infames
D'avoir vecu ainsi,
Seduictz avez femmes
Fille Chambriere aussi.” 1

“ Preistis, leirne to preiche,

 And Christis peple teiche.
 Preistis, tak zour staffe,
 And preiche the Euangell on zour feit,
 And set on Sandellis full meit.

 Preistis, mend zour lyfe,
 And leif zour foule Sensualitie,
 And vylde stinkand chaititie,
 And ilk ane wed ane wyfe.”

Compare also the quotation on p. 286 with—

“ Preistis, put away
Zour paintit fyre of Purgatorie,
The ground of zour Idolatrie.”

And the exhortation to thrust out mass from their monastery, with that of the Scottish poet—

“ Preistis, sell na Mes,
Bot minister that Sacrament,
As Christ, in the New Testament,
Commandit zow expres.”

In v. 1, l. 1, A. and B. have Preistis regularly throughout the ballad ; C. has Preistes, save in stanzas five and nine, where it has Preistis ; D. vibrates between three forms, as mentioned respectively in note 2, p. 195, note 10, p. 196, and note 9, p. 197. In v. 2, l. 4, C. reads *pepill* with B., D. In v. 4, l. 3, it reads *Sandellis* with A., B. ; and in l. 4, where A. has *pantonis* and B. *pantounis*, it reads *pantons* with D. In v. 5, l. 3, where A. has *coittis* and B. *coitis*, C. reads *cottis* ; in v. 6, l. 1, *thole* with A., D. In v. 7 it reads with B., D. *alledge* ; in v. 8, l. 2, where A., B. read *quyte clame*, it, as also Mr Laing, has *quyte claime*. In v. 9 C. agrees with A. in all the various readings, and with B., save in regard to *lat*, for B. agrees, I find, with A. in reading *inquyre*, though the reprint gives *inquire*, as in v. 11, l. 1, it has *read* for *reid*, which A. and C. as well as B. give ; and in l. 2, A., B., C. have some form of the word *canon*, as against the spurious reading of D. *common*. In vv. 15, 16, C. agrees with A., B. in all the various readings, save that it gives *chastity* instead of *chaistitie*. In v. 17, l. 2, where A. has *saif*, B. and D. have *saue*, for which Mr Laing would read (p. 257) *sane* ; but *saif* could hardly be mistaken for *sane*, and *saue* is the general form they use where A. has *saif*. In v. 18, l. 1, where A. has *wirship*, B., C. have *worschip*. In the various readings in notes 10,

¹ Le Chansonnier Huguenot, pp. 101, 103.

11, 12, C. coincides with A., B., and in note 13 with A., D. In l. 3 of last v., B., C. have *dispyte* where A. has *despyte*.

P. 198. *Till our gud man, till our gud man, Keip faith and lufe, till our gud man.*—This I suppose to be the refrain or burden of the secular song to the tune of which this godlie ballate was composed. I do not suppose that the author of it borrowed much else from it, save that he sets forth the relation of Christ to His people, generally in accordance with the metaphor the old song had suggested.

In v. 1, l. 3, the readings in C. agree with those of A., B., and in l. 4 it reads *prais* with B., while Mr Laing adopts the reading of D. *praise*. In v. 2, ll. 3, 4, C. agrees with the readings of A. In v. 3 it agrees with the readings of A., B. In v. 4, l. 2, C. agrees with B. in reading *giue* where A. has *geue*. In v. 6, l. 2, it has *lost* where A. has *loste* and B. *loist*, and in l. 4, *lose* with A. In v. 7 it agrees with A., B. in their various readings (n. 9). In v. 8, l. 4, it agrees with the readings of A., B. (n. 11). In v. 9, C. reads *lat* and *saif* with A., and in l. 4, *judgit* where A. has *jugeit* and B. *judgeit*.

P. 200. *Remember man, remember man.*—Mr Laing in his note on this ballad says (p. 257) Dr Rimbault, in his 'Little Book of Songs and Ballads' (p. 79), gives this Christmas Carol from the collection entitled 'Melismata: Musical Phancies, fitting the Court Citie, and Country Humours,' London 1611, but says it is much earlier than the date of the book. It is also to be found in the Aberdeen Cantus, 1662, 1666, 1682, No. ix., as a religious song, in nine verses, of which the first and second run thus:—

“Remember, O thou man, O thou man, O thou man,
Remember, O thou man, thy time is spent;
Remember, O thou man, how thou was dead and gone,
And I did what I can; therefore repent.

Remember Adam's fall, O thou man, O thou man,
Remember Adam's fall, from heaven to hell;
Remember Adam's fall, how we were condemned all
In hell perpetual, therein to dwell.”

It is quite possible that the author of our gude and godlie ballate may have adopted the first stanza of his piece from some earlier religious version of the secular song, but if so, it must have been from some version at least a century older than the earliest Aberdeen Cantus mentioned above, and the working out of his constantly recurring theme—the sad departure of the old Church from the teaching of Christ and His apostles—must have been all his own.

P. 201, l. 21, the reading of A., B., C. is “*half* hag matines,” but that of D. is “*haly* hag matines.” Dr Jamieson, who knew only the latter, pronounces against its genuineness, both because it makes the line too long and also gives no intelligible sense. The first objection does not apply to the reading of A., B., C., and perhaps the statement in Wetzer and Welte's 'Kirchen Lexicon,' that for matins there were

an Officium *Simplex*, Officium *Duplex*, and possibly also *Semiduplex*, may obviate the second.

In st. 1, l. 2, C. reads *saull* with B., D., and with them also in st. 2, l. 2, it reads *Paull*, and in l. 8, *Herisie*. In st. 3, l. 2, it has *covetice* with A., D., and in l. 4, *contrair* with A., B., and in ll. 6, 7, 8, *trappit*, *furth*, *sauit* also with A., B. In note 4 it agrees with A., in 5 with A., B., and in note 6 with D. In note 7 it agrees with A., B., in note 8 with B., and in note 9 with A., B. In note 10 it agrees with A., B., save that it reads *cursings*, and in note 13 it agrees with them too. On p. 202 it agrees with A., B. in notes 1, 2, 6, 8, 9, 10, 13. In note 3 it agrees with B., in note 5 with D.; in note 7 with B., D., in note 11 with B., in note 12 with B., D. In l. 3, it reads *als* for *as*, and l. 14, *that* for *thair*, and in l. 24, *caus* for *cause*. On p. 203 it agrees with A., B. in notes 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 12; in note 5 it agrees with D., in note 8 with A., in note 11 with A., D. Its only unsupported reading is in the last line and last word *cherity*.

P. 204. *The Paip, that Pagane full of pryde*.—This piece is probably the most trenchant, gleeful yet contemptuous, as well as the coarsest in the collection. I know nothing approaching to it save some of the songs or poems of Walter Mapes, and how it should have been overlooked when condemnation was passed on “Welcum, Fortoun,” I cannot comprehend. The refrain would seem to connect it with some Robin Hood ballad, but if so, I have not succeeded in tracing it. The only thing approaching it on which I have come is contained in a note on p. lxxiii of the Introduction to Ritson’s ‘Ancient Songs,’ and which he says is the burden of an ancient song in the musical volume among the king’s MSS., “He, how, frisca joly under the grene wood tré.” Ritson is disposed to claim an English origin even for the religious adaptation of the “The hunt is up” (p. lxxviii), but neither he nor any one else, so far as I know, have claimed such an origin for this ballad. Mr Laing says, “In this satirical effusion the expressions used evidently refer to events when the Protestants, under the name of the Congregation, had taken matters into their own hands, or to the year 1559.” Before that time the three Wedderburns had been in their graves for some years, and with even greater certainty than of several of the previous bitter satirical ballads, we may affirm that this one cannot be attributed to them, nor could have had a place in any edition of the ballads issued before 1559. The deep moral degradation of the various ranks of the clergy which their own Councils and Parliament had failed to check or reform, the gross ignorance of the curates¹ and lower orders of the clergy, who had been recommended in the canon upon Archbishop Hamilton’s Catechism to read over in private the portions of the catechism they were to read to their parishioners on Sundays, so as to make sure they might be able to do it in such a manner as would not excite the ridicule² of their flock, all point to the

¹ “The Curat, his Creid he culd nocht reid.”

² Statuta Eccl. Scot., ii. 138.

very last decadent days of the old Church. And who this gleeful chuckling satirist was we shall now probably never know. I refrain from any detailed comment on his production, and simply subjoin the following additional various readings: In st. 1, l. 3, C. reads *blynd* for *blind*, and in l. 7, *trym* for *tryme*. In st. 2, l. 1, A., B., and C. all read "abhominatioun," though both Mr Laing and I have failed to put this into our text. In l. 5, A., B., C. read respectively *lardonis*, *lardounis*, *lardons*; but D. reads "lurdons," which conveys a somewhat different meaning. In st. 3, l. 5, A., C. read *lyues*, but B. *lyuis* (*sic*). In st. 4, l. 2, A., B., C. all read *had greit do* not *ado*, and in l. 6 all three read *E* not *ee*. In st. 6, l. 3, A. has *behulffit* or *behuiffit* (I cannot distinctly make out which), C. has *behuiffit*, D. *behuifit*, and B. *behuffit*. In st. 7 l. 2, C., D. have *perseu*, A., B. *persew*. In st. 8, l. 5, C. has *parisch* for *pareis*. In st. 10, l. 3, C. like D. has "thinkand." In st. 11, l. 4, C. has "Hipocrisie" where A., B. have "Hipocresie."

Compare with "His plak pardonis ar bot lardonis of new fund vanitie" the following:—

"Laissez moy l'idole de Romme,
C'est antechrist qui tout consomme,
Renoncez a tous ces larrons [lardons?]
Avec leurs bulles et pardons."

—Chansonnier Huguenot, p. 98.

But far more remarkable than this is the "Chanson contre le Pape et ses suppôts," pp. 129-132, composed in 1555, and sung to an "*air joyeux pour la danse*," which has coincidences with the Scotch in the three first stanzas (1 Pope, 2 Cardinals, 3 Bishops and Abbots), and in several of the later stanzas (as 8 Jacobins, 9 Augustins, 10 Carmes, Carmelites)).

P. 207. *Say weill is throuchlie a worthy gude thing*.—I deem it quite unnecessary to add to what I have already said of this piece in my Introduction, pp. lxxii-lxxiv. I subjoin, however, the following additional various readings: In v. 2, l. 3, C. reads *mony dois*, while A., B. read *dois mony*; in v. 3, l. 2, for *lack* in this reprint probably *laik* should have been given. It is distinctly so in B., and in C. apparently it is *laek*. In v. 4, for *wounders*, B., C. read *wondrous*, but Mr Laing with D. gives *wondrous*. In v. 7, l. 1, C. reads *take*, where A., B. have *tak*; and in v. 8, l. 2, C. reads *sect* with D., but *prauce* with A.

P. 209. *Knaw ze not God Omnipotent*.—Another very bitter satirical ballad. But for the references to contemporary Scottish outbreaks in v. 10 and 11, one might have supposed that possibly it had some relation to a "Replye agaynste that sedicious and papisticall written ballet, of late caste abroad in the stretes of London," 'Register of Stationers' Hall,' f. 140. The references in v. 10, to *stepillis* cast down and St Francis made to flit, might possibly refer to the local

outbreak in Dundee in 1543; but more probably the poem is of later date, and the reference is to the more extensive overthrow of monasteries in 1559-60. In v. 1, l. 4, A., B. read *forbiddin*, while Mr Laing with C., D. reads *forbidden*; in v. 2, l. 2, C. reads *Adams*, where A., B. give *Adam's*, while in l. 7, B., C., D. read *Paull*, where A. has *Paule*. In v. 3, l. 3, C. has *giue* where A., B. have *gif*, while in l. 4 B., C. have *worschipping* where A. has *wirschipping*. In v. 4, l. 3, A., B. have *pardounis* where C., D. have *pardons*, and in l. 7 *inuented* where A., B. have *inuentit*. In v. 5, l. 4, it has *agane* where they have *againie*, and v. 6, l. 2, *oukly* where they have *ouklye*, and in l. 5 *mony* for *mony*. In v. 7, l. 1, C. with B., D. reads *transubstantiation* where A. ends with *oun*, but in l. 5 it reads *Tripartit* with A., while B. has *tripairtit*. In v. 8, l. 4, C. reads *lecherie*, where A. has *licharie*, and B. *lichorie*. In v. 10, l. 3, where A., B. have *zour*, C. has *zow*.¹ In v. 12 C. agrees with D. in all the various readings given in note ⁵. In v. 13 C., D. read *els*, where A., B. have *ellis*.

P. 213. *Was not Salomon, the King, To miserie be wemen brocht?*—This piece, it will be noted, is exactly in the same stanza as the one immediately preceding, but there can be little doubt that if not directly of English origin, it was suggested by poems on the same subject which were of English origin. According to the 'Register of Stationers' Hall' (f. 48), licence was given "on iiiij daye of Marche" 1559-60 for printing of a ballet called "Kyng Saloman." This was, no doubt, the old ballad mentioned by Marston in the play of Antonio and Melida, which began, "And was not good King Solomon," and there is too good reason to conclude that it was not a "disswatioun" from lust, but rather an apology for yielding to it—was, in fact, the original of the "ballate of luve," of which the Scottish version has been preserved in the Bannatyne MS. (f. 215), and of which Mr Laing in his notes on this piece has given the first and second² and the tenth or last stanza. As the bane came from England, so in all probability did the first attempt to provide an antidote, for from the 'Register of Stationers' Hall,' under date 1564-65, we learn that Thomas Purfoote had "lycense for prynting of a ballet entitled 'A

¹ *Tein*, the reading of A., C., D. in v. 11, l. 7, is used as verb, adjective, and noun, and it seems to be in the last sense it is used here—rage—as, according to Jamieson and Laing, "Dustift" and "Bob-at-euin" are of revellers.

² I subjoin the second of these, and place opposite it the corresponding stanza of this ballad:—

"Quhen Paris was inamorat
of Helena, dame bewties peir,
Than Venus first him promisit,
to venter on and nocht for to feir:
Quhat sturdy stormes indurit he,
Lady! Lady!
To win hir lufe, gif it wald be,
My deir Lady!"

"Was not Paris, maist wickitly
Be Venus, led to Helenis lust?
For quhilk sin and adulterie,
The plagues of Troy war efter just.
The sturdie stormis he did indure:
Allace! allace!
His lusting lyfe was na thing sure,
As come to pas."

godly ballet ageynste fornication,'” which was composed in a similar stanza, and meant to be sung to the tune of “Salisbury Plain.”¹

In v. 2, l. 1, A., C. read *wickitly*, B. *wickitlie*, and in l. 7 C. has *wyfe* instead of *lyfe*. In v. 3, l. 2, C. has *was* for *did*, and in l. 4, *Fortune* for *-toun*. In v. 4, l. 1, B. has *fayne* where A., C. have *feyne*, but in l. 2 *gaïne* where A., C. have *gayne*, and in same line A. has *Advenarit*, B. *Adventerit*, C. *Adventirit*. In v. 6, l. 1, C. has *Exionye*, and in l. 5 *minſing* for *minsing*. In v. 7, l. 1, C., like B., has *Anaxaretus* for *Anaxaretis*; in l. 7 C. has *sik* where A., B. have *sic*, and in v. 8, l. 3, *goodis* where they have *goddis*. In v. 9, l. 1, C. reads with B. *breidis*, and in v. 10, l. 5, it has *wedded* with D., and *wa* where A., B. have *wo*. In v. 12, l. 3, C. has *dolorous*, in l. 4 *harlet*, and in v. 13, l. 1, *Tarquinus* for *-ius*, and in v. 16, l. 1, *lichorous*. In note ¹, p. 218, for *wretchet* read *wretchit*. In connection with v. 14 as to *Sardanapalus*, it may be mentioned that in 1565-66 Colwell had a “lycense for prynting of a ballet entitled ‘The myserable unhappy fall of a vyceous Kynge called syr Danapall,’” ‘Register of Stationers’ Hall,’ f. 131b.

P. 218. *With Bybill materis to begin*.—In the ‘Register of Stationers’ Hall,’ f. 153, mention is made of “a ballett declaring by the Scriptures the plagis that have insued of whoredom,” which may possibly have had some similarity to the Scottish ballad.

In notes 6 and 7, p. 218, C. agrees with the readings of A., B., as also in those of note ¹, p. 219, and with those of B. in notes ² and ⁷ of the same page. In v. 4 C. reads *woman* with D., where A., B. have *women*.

P. 220. *All my lufe, leif me not*.—Evidently adapted from a secular ballad, but applied to a higher than any earthly love, as is done in several of the previous ballads.

In v. 1, ll. 5 and 7, A., B., C., D. all have *burding* in both these lines, but in l. 7 Mr Laing has *burden*, and also with D. *from* where A., B., C. have *fra*. In l. 4 C., like B., D., has *thus* where A. has *this*. It coincides with the readings of B., D. in note ⁶, but with those of A., B. in note ⁷. In v. 4, l. 5, C. coincides with B. in reading *ladin*. On p. 221 it coincides in notes ³ and ⁷ with B., D., and in notes ⁴, ⁵, ⁶ with A., B.

P. 222. *Welcum, Fortoun, welcum againe*.—There are no various readings to be recorded on this song, as it is not found in any of the later extant editions of the Compendious Book, and in the Introduction (p. lxxv) I have already inserted all I have to say as to its contents.

P. 176. *To sum, God wot, he gaif tot quot, And vther sum pluralitie*.—This, I suppose, refers to the papal dispensations to hold a simple plurality of benefices, or a larger number, as many as are specified in the individual dispensation.

¹ Collier’s ‘Broadside and Black-Letter Ballads of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.’ London, 1868, pp. 105, 111.

BOOKS SPECIALLY CONSULTED IN PREPARING THIS
VOLUME, BESIDES OTHERS INCIDENTALLY MEN-
TIONED IN PARTICULAR NOTES.

I. EDITIONS OF COMPENDIOUS BOOK OF GODLY AND
SPIRITUAL SONGS, ETC.

1. Edition of 1657, in possession of the family of the late Patrick Anderson, Esq., Dundee.
2. Edition of 1578, in possession of Christie Miller, Esq. of Britwell House, Herts.
3. Edition of 1600, in the British Museum.
4. Edition of 1621, in the British Museum.
5. Edition of 1621, in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.
6. Reprints by Sir J. G. Dalyell in 1801 of edition 1621, and by D. Laing, Esq., LL.D., in 1868, of edition 1578, and partial reprints of the ballad by Lord Hailes in 1765 and J. Sibbald in 1802.
7. Hunterian Club edition of poems in Bannatyne MS., belonging to Mr J. T. Clark of the Advocates' Library, and kindly lent me by him.

II. FOREIGN BOOKS OF COMMON ORDER, PSALM- AND HYMN-BOOKS.

i. *In my own Library.*

1. Kirchenordnung . . . und Kirchengesannng Teutsch und Lateinisch, Dauon in Newburgischer und Zweybruckischer gleichförmiger Kirchenordnung meldungsgeschicht, welche . . . in allen Kirchen und Schulen . . . gesungen und gebraucht werden sollen. MDLXX. Folio. Gedruckt zu Nürnberg durch Dieterich Gerlatz.
2. D. Mart. Luthers und anderer gottseliger Leut GEISTLICHE LIEDER UND KIRCHENGESÄNGE, wie die in Evangelischen Kirchen dieser Landen gesungen werden. 12mo. Dantzig, 1653.
3. Württembergisches Gesangbuch, enthaltend eine Sammlung reiner und kräftiger Lieder, welche ein Hochfürstlicher Synodus zum Gebrauch der Gemeinden . . . erlesen und angewiesen. Folio. Stuttgart, 1750.
4. Das Deutsche Kirchenlied von M. Luther bis auf Nic. Hermann und A. Blaurer von Dr K. E. P. Wackernagel. 4to. Stuttgart, 1841.
5. Reprints of the Riga Kirchenordnung . . . mit etlichen Psalmen und Göttlichen Lobgesengen of 1530, also of Joachim Slüter's Rostock 'Gesangbuch' of 1531, and of the Hamburgischen Gesangbücher des xvten Jahrhunderts, and Wackernagel's beautiful edition of 1848 of Luther's Geistliche Lieder, with the tunes of his time.

Reprints—Danish, Swedish, French.

6. Een ny handbog, met Psalmer oc aandelige lofsange. wd-dragne aff then hellige schrift. Rostock, 1529.
7. Malmö . . . Psalmbogen, 1533.
8. Swenska Psalmboken af 1536. Reprinted 1862.
9. Den Swenska Psalmboken . . . af år 1695 öfwersedd och nötorfteligen förbättrad. Stockholm, 1781.
10. Le Chansonnier Huguenot du xvi^e Siècle. Paris, 1871.

ii. From the University Library, St Andrews.

1. Bibliographie des Deutschen Kirchenliedes im xvten Jahrhundert von Philipp Wackernagel. 4to. Frankfurt-am-Main, 1855.
2. Das Deutsche Kirchenlied vom der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des xviten Jahrhunderts, von Philipp Wackernagel. Bd. i. 1864; ii. 1868; iii. 1870; iv. 1874; v. 1884. 8vo. Leipzig, Teubner.
3. Geistliche Lieder der evangelischen Kirche aus dem xvten Jahrhundert von Dr Julius Mützel. Bde. i. ii. iii. 8vo. Berlin, 1855.
4. Satiren und Pasquille aus der Reformationzeit, von Oskar Schade, 2te Ausgabe, Bde. i. ii. iii. 8vo. Hannover, 1863.
5. Pasquillorum tomi duo. Eleutheropoli, MDXLIH.
6. Den Danske Psalmedigtung samlet oc ordnet af Carl J. Brandt og Ludvig Helweg. Kiöbenhavn, 1846.

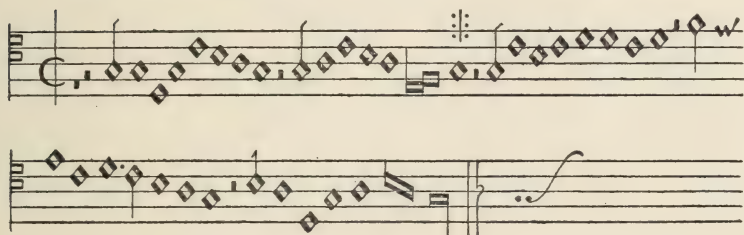
iii. From the British Museum.

1. Encheiridion Geistliche Gesenge. 8vo. Erfurd, 1526. C 38. c. 33.
2. Ein new Gesangbüchlein von M. Weisse. 4to. Behmen, 1531. 3425 c.c.
3. Der gantz Psalter das ist alle Psalmen Davids. 8vo. Zürich, 1537.
4. Psalmen und Geistliche Lieder. 8vo. Leiptzigk, 1547. 3433 aaaa6 1221 a 27.
5. Der Psalter in new Gesangsweise. 8vo. Frankfurt, 1553. 3436 f.
6. Geistliche Lieder. 16mo. Passaw? 1583-4. 1221 a 21.
7. Begin [leaf 1. Recto] Bassus [verso]. In this Boke are conteynyed xx songes, ix of four partes and xi of thre partes. MCCCCXXX. Wynkyn de Worde. Ob. 4to. 1530. K 1. e. 1.
8. Original editions of the works of Miles Coverdale. English Psalter of 1540. 8vo. Translation of Bullinger's Christen state of matrimonye. 1541. Confutation of Standish. 8vo. 1541. Actes of the disputation holden at Regensburg in 1541, &c. 8vo. 1542. A Christen exhortacion unto customable swearers. 1543. With "Maner to saye grace" appended. Faythful treatyse concernynge the most sacret sacrament, &c., whereunto the order that the Church of Denmarke doth use at the receiuing of baptisme is added.

APPENDIX III.—TUNES.

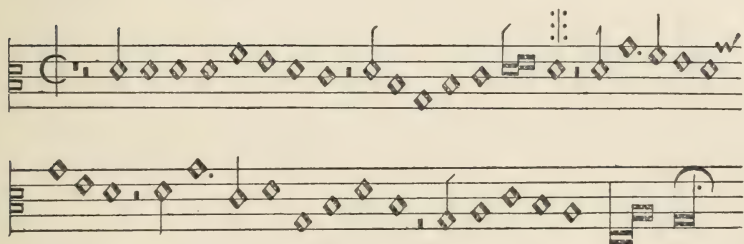
TUNES FROM A WITTEMBERG GESANGBUCH OF 1524.

Run frewt euch lieben Christen g'meen.



Be blyth all Christin men and sing,
Dance & mak myrth with al zour nicht ;
Christ hes vs kyithit greit conforting,¹
Quhairfoir we may reioyis of rycht ;
Ane wark to wounder that is wrocht,
Christ, with his blude, full deir vs bocht,
And, for our saik, to deid was dicht.

—P. 46.

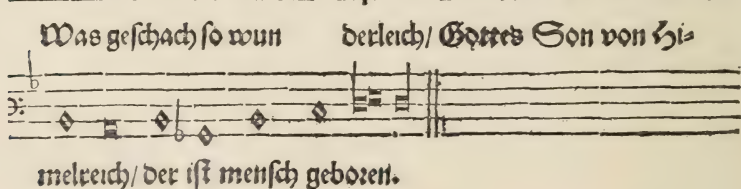
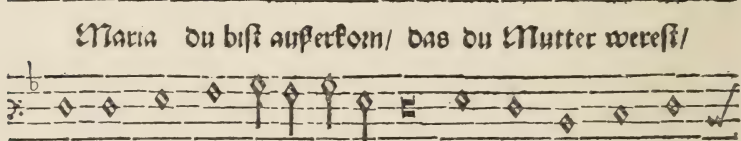
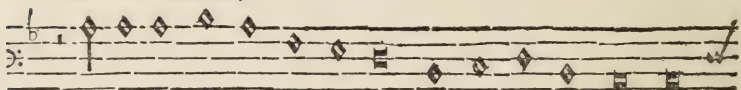
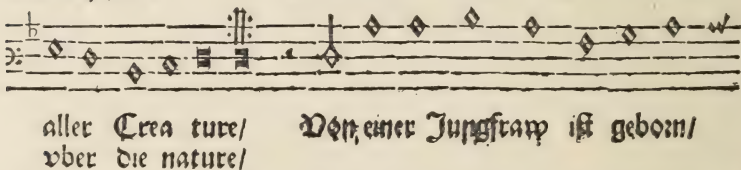
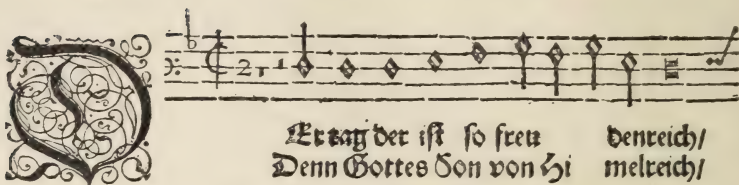


Saif vs, gude Lord, and succour send,
For perysit is halynes :
And treuth away from men is wend,¹
And fled fra thame is faithfulnes :
Dissait amang thame sa is sawin,
The veritie may nocht be knawin,
Thair tungis ar full of fenzeitnes.

—P. 88.

¹ The third and fourth lines are sung to the same music as lines first and second.

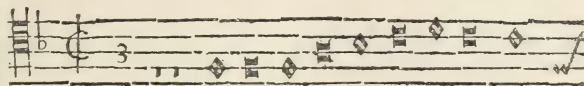
Ein schöner alter Lobgesang von der Geburt Christi.



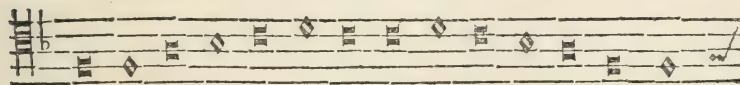
Ein kindelein so löblich
Ist uns geboren heute,
Von einer Jungfraw seuberlich
Zu trost uns armen leute;
Wer uns das kindelein nicht geborn
So wern wir all zumal verlorn,
Das heil ist unser aller.
Sy du süsser Jesu Christ,
Das du mensch geboren bist,
Behüt uns vor der Hellen.

To vs is borne a barne of blis,
Our King and Empriour:
Ane gracious Virgin Mother is,
To God hir Sauour.
Had not that blissit bairne bene borne,
We had bene euerie ane forlorne,
With Sin and Feindis fell.
Christ Jesus, louing be to thé,
That thow ane man wald borne be,
To saif vs from the hell.

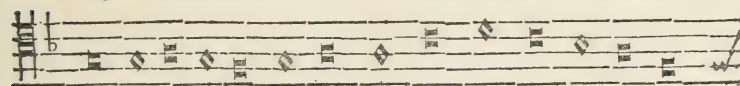
Ein ander altes Weihenachten Lied.



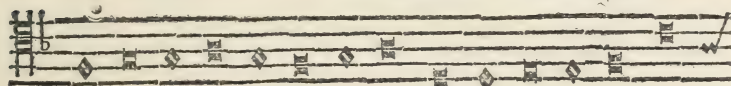
N dolci iubilo, Nun



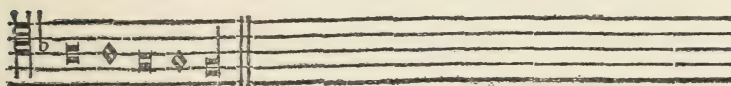
singet vnd seid fro/ vnfers hertzen wunne/ leit



in præsepio, Vnd leuchtet als die Sonne/



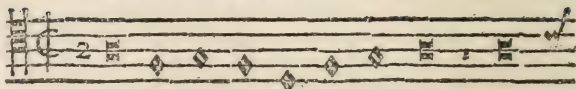
Matris in gremio, Alpha es & O,



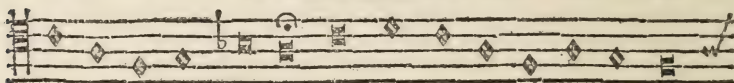
Alphaes & O.

In *dolci Iubilo*, Now [lat vs] sing with myrth and Jo
Our hartis consolatioun lyis in *præsepio*,
And schynis as the Sone, *Matris in gremio*,
Alpha es et O, Alpha es et O.

Kirchengeseng.



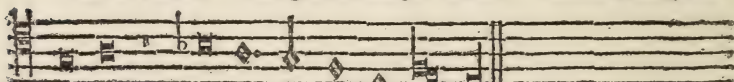
Chriß zu dir Herz Jesu Chriß, Ich
Verleih mir gnad zu diser frist/ Laß



bitt erhö: mein Klagen/ Den rechten glauben Herz ich mein/
mich doch nit ver zagen.



den wöllestu mir geben/ dir zu leben/ mein Nächsten

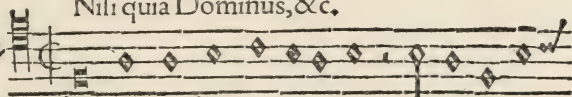


muß sein/ dein wort zu halten e ben.

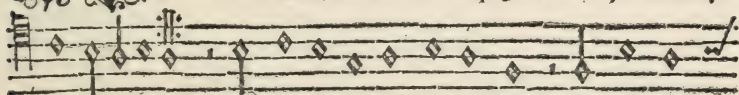
I call on thé, Lord Jesu Christ,
I haif nane vther help bot thé,
My hart is neuer set at rest,
Till thy sweit word confort[is] me.
Ane steidfast Faith grant me thairfoir,
To hald be thy word euer moir
Abufe all thing, neuer resisting,
Bot to increas in Faith moir and moir.

Der CXXIII. Psalm.

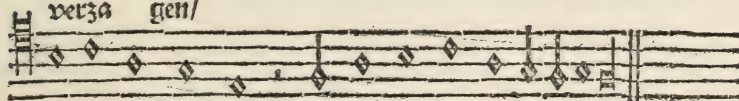
Nisi quia Dominus, &c.



Er Gott nit mit vns dise zeit/ So soll Isra-
Wer Got nit mit vns dise zeit/ Wir heten müß



el sa - gent/ Die so ein armes heuflin sind/ Verachte von
verza - gen/



so vil menschen kind/ Die an vns setzen al le.

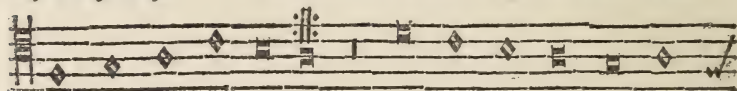
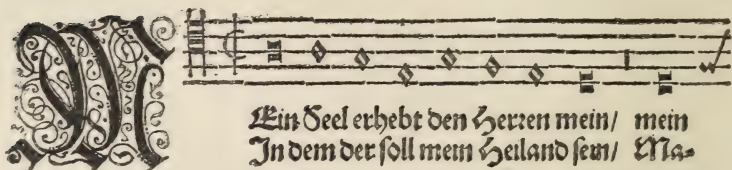
Zuff

Except the Lord with vs had stand,
Say furth, Isaell, vnfenzeitlie,
Had not the Lord bene our warrand,
Quhen men rais in our contrairie,
They had us all on liue deuorit,
With Ire sa scharplie thay vs schorit,
Sa kendlit was thair crueltie.

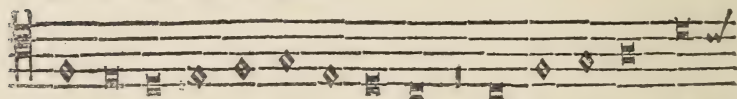
—P. III.

Vespergeseng.

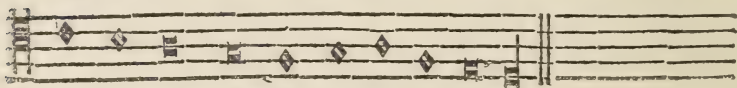
Ein ander art vnd Melodien des Magnificat.



Geist thut frölich springen/ Mich schlechte meid/ auch nich-
ri a so thut singen:



rigkeit/ allein hat ange sehen/ in mir verbracht/ sein



Göttlich macht/ all gschlecht mit lob versehen.

My Saule dois magnifie the Lord,
My spreit reioysis gretumlie,
In God my Sauieur, and in his word,
For he has sene the law degre,
Of me, his handmadin, trewlie ;
Behald now efter this day,
All generationis sall speik of me,
And call me blissit alway.



And I mankynd haue not in mynd my loue

that moornyth for me for me who is my loue but god I boue

that born was of mary ad on the rode hys precious blode he

shed to make me fre whom shold I proue so true of loue so getyl

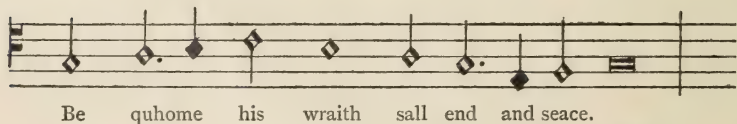
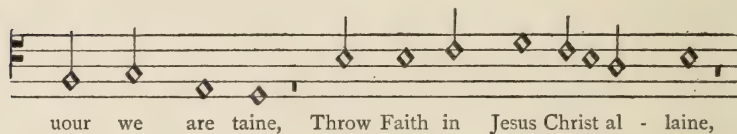
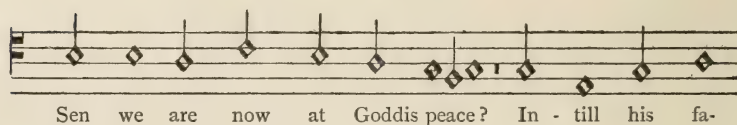
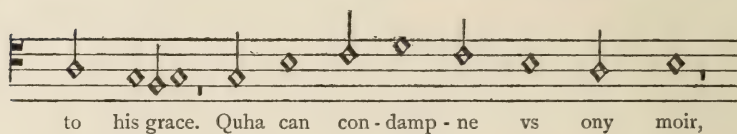
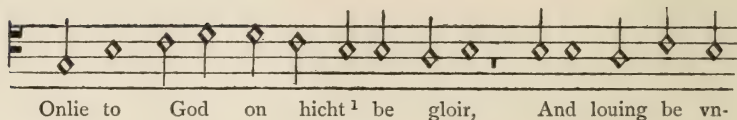
curtes as he that kig of blys my loue he ys that morth so for for me

I am not kynde, hes not in mynde
My lufe that murnis for me.
Quha is my lufe, bot God abuse,
Quhilk all this world hes wrocht ;
The King of blis, my lufe he is,
Full deir he hes me bocht.
His precious blude he shed on rude,
That was to mak us fré ;
This sall I preue, be Goddis leue,
That sair my lufe murnis for me.

—P. 140.

This, as stated in the notes, p. 271, is from a quarto volume published by Wynkyn de Worde in 1530. The intencion seems to have been to give some of the tunes in five, and some in three, parts, but only the "Bassus" is given in the volume.

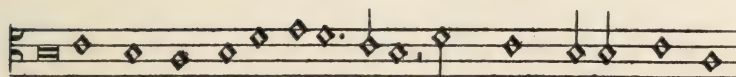
Gloria in excelsis Deo.



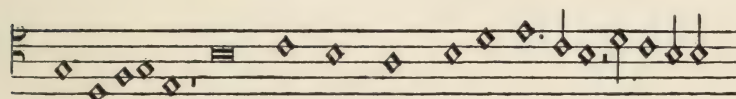
—P. 54.

¹ In the Tabill of Contents it is *heich*, as it is also in B. C. D.

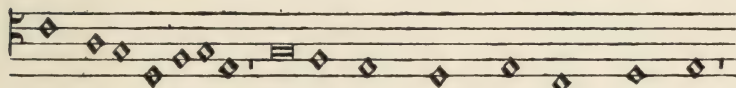
Psalm lxxii.



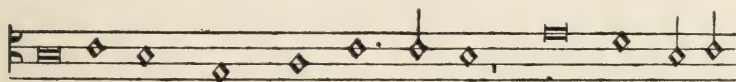
O God be mer - cy - full to vs, And send to vs



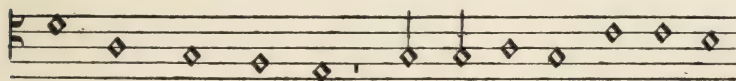
thy blessing, Thy face schaw vs sa glorious, And be euer



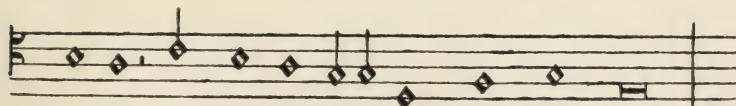
to vs luiffing: That men on eird may know thy way,



Thy sauing heill and rycheousnes, That thay be nocht

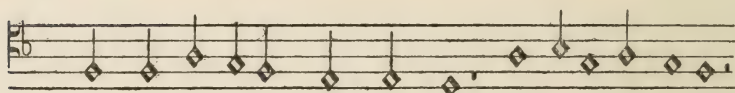


led nicht nor day, Fra thy preceptis, and trew

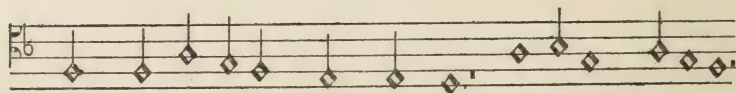


Jus - tice, To seek Sal - ua - tioun quhair nane is.

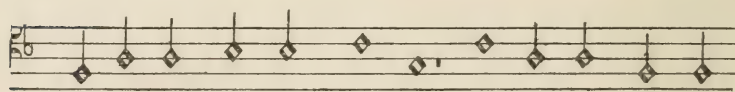
"Christ is the onlie Sone of God."



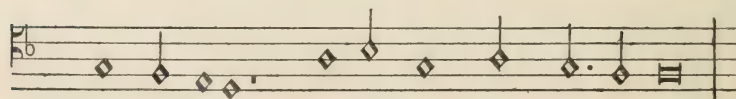
Christ is the onlie Sone of God, The Father E - ter-nall:



We haif in Jesse found the rod, God and man nat-ur-all.



He is the Morn - ing Star, His bemis send he



hes out far, Bezond v - ther ster - nis all.

GLOSSARY

ABBREVIATIONS.

The following are the principal abbreviations used in the Glossary.

a. adjective.
adv. adverb.
art. article.
conj. conjunction.
interj. interjection.
prep. preposition.
pron. pronoun.
sb. substantive.
v. verb.

pr. t. present tense.
pt. t. past tense.
imp. imperative.
inf. infinitive.
pr. p. present participle.
pt. pp. past participle.
pers. person.
s. singular.
pl. plural.

GLOSSARY.

- A. per C., *i.e.*, *per se*, nonsuch, 147.
 Abak, *adv.* back, 204.
 Abbominabill, *a.* abominable, 80.
 Abderitus, 214.
 Abhominatioun, *sb.* abomination, 100.
 Abhominatioun of desolatioun, 159.
 Abill, *a.* able, 130, 169.
 Abirone, Abiram, 179.
 Abone, *prep.* above, 33.
 Abone, *adv.* above, 20, 56, &c. ; from
 abone = from above, 123.
 Aboundantlie, *adv.* abundantly, 20, 33,
 91, 95 ; aboūdantlie, 5.
 Abrogate, *v. pt. pp.* abolished, out of
 use, 93.
 Absolon, Absalom, 218.
 Absoluit, *pt. pp.* absolved, 176.
 Absolutionis, *sb. pl.* 191.
 Abstane, *v. imp.* abstain, 17.
 Abufe, *pp.* above, 65, 120.
 Abufe, *adv.* above, 71.
 Abusioun, *sb.* abuse, 118, 190.
 Abyde, *v. inf.* endure, 201.
 Abyde, *v. inf.* wait on, 116 ; abydis,
pr. t. s. 96.
 Achab, Ahab, 179.
 Actis, *sb.* 115.
 Adam, 167 ; Adame, 199 ; Adamis, 209.
 Adhorne, *v. inf.* adore, 71 ; adoir,
 237.
 Adow, *adv.* ado, 158.
 Adrest, *v. pt. pp.* provided, 97.
 Aduance, *v. inf.* advance, 73.
 Aduentrit, *v. pt.* adventured, 213.
 Aduert, *v. inf.* turn, 94 ; *imp.* 70, 87,
 99, 124 ; pay attention to, 34.
 Aduertise, 214 ; aduerteis, *v. inf.* ad-
 vise, warn, inform, 41.
 Affray, *v. inf.* frighten, 107.
 Againe, *prep.* against, 34, 69.
 Agane, *adv.* again, 15.
 Aganis, *prep.* against, 3, 4.
 Agarins, 104.
 Aige, *sb.* age, 26, 117.
 Aillit, *v. pt.* ailed, 109.
 Aind, *sb.* breath, 30.
 Air, *sb.* heir, 21, 33, 38, &c. ; airis, *pl.*
 5, 199.
 Air, *adv.* early, 26, 53 ; air and lait,
 early and late, 27, 77.
 Alcumena, 215.
 Ald. See Auld.
 Aleuin, *n. a.* eleven, 202.
 Alkin, of every kind, 101.
 Allace, *interj.* 9.
 Allalua, Alleluia, 59.
 Allane, *a.* alone, 48, 54 ; allone, 10.
 Allanerlie, *a.* alone, 7, 10, 19, &c.
 Allanerlie, *adv.* only, 12.
 All hail, entire, 94.
 All haill, perhaps *adv.* wholly, 99.
 Allone. See Allane.
 Alluterlie, *adv.* entirely, altogether,
 185.
 Almichtie, *a.* almighty, 3.
 Almous, *sb.* alms, 205.
 Alquhair, *adv.* everywhere, 96.
 Als, *conj.* as, 16, 18, &c. ; also, 40.
 Alswa, *adv.* also, 14, 40, 48.
 Altaris, *sb.* altars, 209.
 Alwyse, *adv.* always, 58, 69.
 Amäg, *prep.* among, 1, 50.
 Amalekis, Amalekites, 105.
 Amene, *a.* pleasant, 121.
 A mis, *adv.* astray, 83 ; amis, 158.
 Amon, Ammon, 105.
 Amon, Amnon, 218.
 Anaxaretis, 214.
 And, *conj.* if, 189.
 Ane, *art.* a, an, 8, 138, &c. ; *a.* one.
 Ane and all, one and all, 34.
 Ane vther, *pron.* another, 26, 73.

- Angell, *sb.* angel, 10; Angellis, 53.
 Anis, *adv.* once, 16.
 Anker, *v. imp.* anchor, 232.
 Anna, Annas, 155.
 Annoyntit, *v. pt. pp.* anointed, 92.
 Anone, *adv.* at once, 33, 35, 37.
 Anthone, Sanct, St Anthony, 197.
 Antichrist, 200, 203; Antichristis, 159.
 Apamé, 218. See I Esdras iv. 29, 30.
 Apostallis, *sb. pl.* 3, 15; apostillis, 72.
 Appeir, *v. inf.* appear; *pr. t. s.* appeir, 33; *appeiris*, 72; *apperis*, *pr. pp.* appeirand, 45, 94.
 Appeirand, *a.* apparent, 62.
 Appeirandlie, *adv.* apparently, 122.
 Appellis, *sb. pl.* apples, 117.
 Appetyte hartis, heart's desire or wish, 95; appetyte warldlie, worldly appetite, 72.
 Ar, *v. pl.* are, 2, 10, 17, 50, &c.
 Archebischop, *sb.* archbishop, 178.
 Argound, *v. pt. pp.* argued, 102.
 Aron, house of, house of Aaron, 110.
 Arreird (areird), *adv.* backward, 57.
 Articklis, *sb. pl.* articles, 2.
 As, *sb.* ashes, 27; az, 21.
 Ascence. See Assence.
 Ascendis, *v. pr.* 191; ascendit, *pp.* 63.
 Ascryue, *v. pr. t.* ascribe, 202.
 Asking, *sb.* petition, 71.
 Asse, *sb.* ashes, 235.
 Asse, *sb.* ass, 3; assis, 50.
 Assence, *sb.* ascent, 123; ascence, 110.
 Assentioun, *sb.* ascension, 45.
 Assis, *v. pr. t.* asks, begs, 205.
 Assure, Ashur, 105.
 Athort, *adv.* across (?), 109.
 Attenement, *sb.* atonement, 159.
 Attour, *prep.* above, beyond, 60, 82, 139.
 Auance, *v. inf.* advance, carry forward, 118, 208; *imp.* 195.
 Auarice, *sb.* avarice, 128.
 Auart, *v. imp.* avert, turn away, 74.
 Aucht, *v. pr. t.* ought, 46.
 Aueis, *sb. pl.* Avés, 174, 201.
 Augustinis, Augustinian friars, 205.
 Auise, *v. imp.* consider, 237; *ausyt*, *pt. p.* advised, 237.
 Auld, *a.* old, 29, 143; auld Adam, 14; ald, 111; auld man, 146.
 Aulter, *sb.* altar, 129, 194.
 Auoyde, *v. imp.* cast forth, 118.
 Austeir, *a.* austere, 96.
 Authoure, *sb.* author, 101.
 Aw, *sb.* awe, 181.
 Awaik, *v. imp.* awake, 148; awaikis, 102.
 Awayit, *v. pr. t.* lie in wait for, 96.
 Awfullie, *adv.* in a way to inspire dread, 43.
 Awin, *a. pron.* own, 6, 86, &c.
 Ay, for, for ever, 16, 32, 42.
 Babilone, Babylon, 114, 115, 217.
 Babling, *sb.* babbling, 205.
 Bad, *v. pt. t.* bade, ordered, 11, 15.
 Bailfull, *a.* baleful, pitiless, 162, 168.
 Baill, *sb.* bale, woe, 96, 215.
 Baine, *sb.* bone, 173; banis, *pl.* 124, 199; baine and lyre, 187.
 Bair, *a.* bare, 235.
 Bairne, *sb.* child, 49, 139; bairnis, *pl.* 55, 115; barne, 51.
 Baith, *conj.* both, 10.
 Balaamis, Balaam's, 179.
 Bald, *a.* bold, 102.
 Biallalis bandis, Belial's bonds, 162, 168.
 Ballat, *sb.* ballad, 28; ballatis, *pl.* 85.
 Balulalow, lullaby, 51.
 Ban, *v. inf.* curse, 199.
 Baneis, *v. inf.* banish, 148; baneist, *pt. t.* 177, 182; *pt. p.* 148, 183; banischit, 216.
 Banis. See Baine.
 Bapteist, *v. pt. pp.* baptised, 14, 45; baptist, 15.
 Barbour, *a.* barbarous, 109.
 Bardit, *a.* armed, covered with trappings, 94.
 Barne. See Bairne.
 Barrane, *a.* barren, 109.
 Barrounis, *sb.* barons, 232.
 Base, *a.* as *adv.* low, 208.
 Battell, *sb.* battle, 26, 139.
 Baudrie, *sb.* as *attr.* ribaldry, 1.
 Bauld, *a.* bold, 36, 189, 207, &c.
 Bauldlie, *adv.* boldly, 172.
 Baw lula low, *sb.* name of a cradle tune, 49.
 Be, *prep.* by, 3, 5, 14, &c.
 Beck, *v. pt.* bow, 105.
 Becummin, *v. pt. pp.* become, 60; becumit, *pt. pp.* 50.
 Befoir, *pr.* before, 2, 18, 33, &c.
 Beforne, *prep.* before, 27, 44, 46.
 Begand, *v. pr. pp.* begging, 97.
 Begger, *sb.* beggar, 40; beggeris, *pl.* 189.
 Begouth, *v. pt. t.* began, 35.
 Begylit, *v. pt. pp.* beguiled, 134, 182, 185.
 Behauld, *v. inf.* behold, 15, 147; *imp.* 11, 154; lo! 84, 143; behalding, 33.
 Behuiffit, *v. pt. t.* behoved, 205, 206.

- Beidis, *sb. pl.* beads, 174.
 Beild, *sb.* place of shelter (?), 181.
 Beild, *sb.* protection, shelter, 107.
 Beir, *v. pr. t.* bear, 104; *bure, pt. t. pr.* 170.
 Beir, *v. inf.* bear, endure, 141.
 Beir, *v. inf.* bear, 3; *imp.* 9; *beiris, pr. t.* bears, 29; *bure, pt. t.* brought forth, 139, 146; *pt. pp.* borne.
 Beist, *sb.* beast, 19, 103, 175; *beistis, pt.* 117; *beistis* mark, the mark of the beast, 104.
 Belangis, *v. pr. t.* belongs, 35, 67; *belangit, pt. t.* 98.
 Beleif. See Beleue.
 Beleue. See Beleue, *v.*
 Beleue, *sb.* belief, 113.
 Beleue, *v. inf.* believe, 13, 25, 45; *imp.* 48, 195; *pr. t. 1st s.* 4; *1st pt.* 70; *beleuand, pr. pp.* 118; *beleue, inf.* 17; *beleif*, 15.
 Belleis, *sb.* bellies, 187, 192.
 Bellie wyle, 198.
 Bellis preistis, Bel's priests, 179.
 Bellis, *sb.* bells, 53.
 Beluiffit (belouit), *a.* beloved, 47.
 Belyue, *adv.* quickly, 212.
 Bemis, *sb.* beams, 145.
 Bend, *v. pr. t.* bound, 109.
 Bene, for haif bene, 190.
 Bene, *v. pr. t.* are, 55; *beand, pr. pp.* being, 78; *bene, pt. pp.* 36.
 Beneth, *adv.* beneath, 2.
 Bening, *a.* benign, 49, 139.
 Beningnitie, *sb.* benignity, 23, 93.
 Bequyeth, *v. pr. t.* bequeath, 156.
 Beseik, *v. pr. t.* beseech, 131, 144; *beseiking, pr. pp.* 131.
 Besettis, *v. pr. t.* besets, 125.
 Betakinis, *v. pr. t.* betokens, 123; *betakinnis, pr.* 127.
 Bethsabe, Bathsheba, 219.
 Betin, *v. pt. pr.* beaten, 153.
 Betrayit, *v. pt. pp.* 5.
 Betuix, *prep.* between, 35.
 Beutie, *sb.* beauty, 215.
 Be war, beware, 48, 87.
 Bezond, *prep.* beyond, 145.
 Biddene, *sb.* command, 38, 127.
 Biddis, *v. pr. t.* bids, 60.
 Big, *v. inf.* build, 56.
 Bill, *sb.* writ, poem, 61.
 Birnist, *a.* burnished, polished, 96.
 Bis, *v. inf.* frizzle, 187.
 Bittis, *sb. pl.* small pieces, 210.
 Blaid, *sb.* blade, 95.
 Blait, *v. inf.* bleat, 186.
 Blating, *sb.* bleating, 185.
 Blaw, *sb.* brag, boast, 90.
 Blaw up, *v. imp.* blow up, 93; *blawis, blows*, 189.
 Bleid, *v. inf.* bleed, 145.
 Bleir zour E, bedim, blind by flattery, 184; *blerit, v. pt. t.* 205.
 Blenk, *v. imp.* look, 234.
 Blindit, *a.* blindit, 182.
 Blindlingis, *adv.* in a blindfold manner, 56.
 Blis, *sb.* bliss, 20.
 Blis, *v. inf.* bless, 19; *imp.* 20, 75; *blissing, pr. pp.* 43.
 Blissing, *sb.* blessing, 75.
 Blissit, *a.* blessed, 13, 25, 32; *blyssit*, 23.
 Blude, *sb.* blood, 14, 16, 39, &c.
 Bludie, *a.* bloody, 17, 57.
 Blyith, *a.* blythe, glad, 38, 39, 46.
 Blyithnes, *sb.* blythness, joy, 37, 55.
 Blyssit. See Blissit.
 Bob at euin, 212.
 Bocht. See By.
 Boist, *v. imp.* boast, threaten, 197.
 Boist, *sb.* boasting, threat, 50, 90, 104.
 Bonet, *sb.* bonnet, 195.
 Bony, *a.* beautiful, 206.
 Borne, *v. pt. p.* born, 3, 10, 15, &c.
 Bot, *conj.* but, 4, 5, &c.; *bot and*, besides, 194; *bot reik*, save smoke, 97.
 Boune, *a. pp.* bound, on the way to, 62; *bowne*, ready, 142, 179.
 Bourd, *sb.* jest, 80, 99.
 Bowne. See Boune.
 Bra, *sb.* steep acclivity, 109.
 Braid, *a.* broad, 10.
 Braith, *sb.* breath, 217.
 Brak. See Brek.
 Brank, *v. inf.* curb, 207.
 Brauling, *sb.* brawling, 195.
 Braull, *sb.* brawl, 193.
 Breid, *sb.* bread, 4, 5, 6, &c.
 Brek, *v. inf.* break, 168; *brekis, pr. t. 3rd pt.* 3; *brak, pt. t.* broke, 5, 38, 43, 129, &c.; *brekand, pr. pp.* 127; *brokin, pt. pp.* 5.
 Breking, *sb.* breaking, 102.
 Brether, *sb. pl.* brothers, 34, 71, 132.
 Brint, *a.* burnt, 128, 129.
 Brint. See Byrne.
 Brocht, *v. pt. t.* brought, 44; *pt. pp.* 2, 26.
 Brokin. See Brek.
 Bruke, *v. inf.* enjoy, 11, 96, 97, &c.
 Bruckill, *a.* easily broken, brittle, 199; *brukill*, 165.
 Brukkilnes, *sb.* frailty, 150.
 Brunt, *v. pt. pp.* burnt, 190.
 Brycht, *a.* bright, 26.
 Bryde, Sanct, St Bridget, 197.

- Brym, *a.* fierce, 111.
 Buke, *sb.* book, 42.
 Buklar, *sb.* buckler, 107.
 Bullis, *sb.* Papal bulls, 176.
 Bulrand, *a.* roaring, making a noise, 112.
 Burde, *sb.* board, table, 40.
 Burding, *sb.* burden, 29, 149, 220.
 Bure. See Beir.
 Burges, *sb.* burgess, 204.
 Burne. See Byrne.
 Burnis, *sb.* streams of water, 111.
 Burris, *sb. pl.* burs, 104.
 Buryit, *v. pt. p.* buried, 3.
 But, *prep.* without, 12, 29, 31, 203, &c.
 By, *v. inf.* buy, 158, 193; bocht, *pt. p.* 23, 46.
 By and by, presently, without delay, 161.
 Bybill, *sb.* as *attr.* Bible, 218.
 Byde, *v. inf.* endure, 113.
 Byde, *v. inf.* stay, live, 12, 35, 60; bydand, *pr. pp.* awaiting, 113.
 Byke, *sb.* hive, 105.
 Byrd, *sb.* bird, 139.
 Byrne, *v. inf.* burn, 34, 96; burne, *imp.* 9; brint, *pt. t.* 103.
 Byrth, *sb.* birth, 5, 69, 75, &c.; child, 139.
 Byssie, *a.* busy, 142.
 Byte, *v. inf.* bite, 117; *pr. t.* 104.

 Cace, *sb.* case, be na case=in no way, 41; cairful cace, woful case, 122.
 Caffie, *sb.* chaff, 106.
 Caip, *sb.* cap (?), 174; cope or cloak, 201.
 Cair, *sb.* care, 21, 60, 106, &c.
 Cairfull, *a.* full of care, 47, 62, 193.
 Caius Caligula, 217.
 Cald, *a.* cold, 26, 41; cauld, 16, 189.
 Calfis, *sb. pl.* calves, 129.
 Campione, *sb.* champion, 115.
 Can, *aux. v.* did, 37.
 Cankerit, *a.* cross, 186.
 Cannowne law, canon law, 196.
 Cardinall, *sb.* cardinal, 178.
 Carfe, *v. inf.* carve, cut, 72.
 Cariounis, *sb. pl.* dead bodies (a term of reproach), 186.
 Carmelitis, Carmelite friars, 205.
 Carrell, *sb.* carol, 71.
 Caryit, *v. pt. pp.* carried, 40.
 Catechisme, 2, 7; catechismus buke, 16.
 Catiue, *a.* wretched, 40.
 Catiue, *sb.* caitiff, wretch, 23, 74, 169.
 Cato, 215.
 Caucht, *v. pt.* caught, 218.

 Cauld. See Cald.
 Cause, for=because, 43.
 Cayphas, Caiaphas, 155.
 Ceis, *v. inf.* cease, 89, 172; *imp.* 103; ceist, *pt. t.* 175.
 Celsitude, *sb.* greatness, 51, 75, 120, &c.
 Cerimonyis, *sb.* ceremonies, 232.
 Certane, *a.* certain, 18, 27.
 Chaftis, *sb. pl.* jaws, 114.
 Chaist, *a.* chaste, 8, 10, 84.
 Chaistitie, *sb.* chastity, 9, 197.
 Chancit, *v. pt. t.* chanced, 40.
 Changeit, *v. pt. pp.* changed, 58, 165.
 Chanslar, *sb.* chancellor, 178.
 Chantour, chanter, 178.
 Chaplane, *sb.* chaplain, 178.
 Chargeit, *v. pt. t.* charged, 44.
 Chargis, *sb.* charges, 177.
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